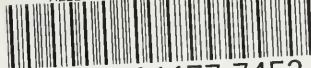


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CHRONICLES

OF

THE BUILDERS

OF THE

COMMONWEALTH

V. 1, 2, 3

Historical Character Study

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

VOLUME I

SAN FRANCISCO
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS. . . .

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John Jacob Astor

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PREFACE.

DURING the progress of my historical labors, the fact gradually forced itself upon me that the men who had made the history were not receiving sufficient attention. The narrative of events I could present in clear, connected form, but the artificers of those events I was forced to leave too much in the background. Throughout this westernmost America, within a comparatively short period, a great work had been accomplished, the results of which I could give; but the men who had achieved those results I could not properly present without so breaking the narrative as to deprive it of much of its historical value. In the history proper I could accord the usual space and attention; nay, more, I could and did give fully and freely biographical notices of greater or less extent; but this was not enough. They were not merely historical characters in the ordinary sense, but something more. They were not alone factors or originators of progress; they were authors of actualities, creators of commonwealths, having with their own hands fashioned from raw material the fabrics of destiny. And as such I could not but feel they were entitled to more than passing notice.

The conditions attending development here were peculiar. During the last half-century this western world has unfolded from a primeval wilderness into a

garden of the fairest civilization. Many thousands of years were occupied by man in his journey from the hypothetical cradle of the race eastward to the western shore of the Pacific, and westward to its eastern shore. This encompassment of the earth by civilization completed the circle of human migration. It was a long way from America to China, and a still longer period was occupied by progressive man in passing from the same initial point to Egypt and Greece, to Rome and western Europe, and finally to America, and across its plains and mountains to its western seaboard. But after two or three hundred years had been consumed in extending settlement from the Atlantic coast to mid-continent, quick work was made of the remainder. To the ripeness of the time was added one of those culminating periods of progress, in which human affairs are forced onward to the accomplishment in a few years of what ordinarily occupies centuries. A progressional spasm of this kind occurred on the Pacific coast about the middle of the present century.

The events thus culminating, and which were the seed to sudden and brilliant blossoming, were the war with Mexico, ending in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and the cession by Mexico to the United States of all that region west of northern Texas and Colorado to the Pacific ocean; the discovery of rich placer gold deposits for five hundred miles along the foothills of the California sierra, and the establishing of a line of ocean steamships between the eastern and western seabords via the isthmus of Panamá. The more immediate results were the rapid inflowing of population; a revolutionizing of the world's

commerce and currency; a marked improvement in ocean sailing and steam craft; the building of the Panamá railway; the development of mines, agriculture, stock-raising, commerce, and manufactures throughout this whole western region; the laying out of roads, and the establishing of stage, steamboat, postal, express, and telegraph routes; the building of towns, cities, and innumerable happy country homes; and, finally, railroads everywhere, and high intellectual enlightenment.

Taking, then, California as the primary point, and the great gold discovery as the coalescing influence of this freak of evolution, the combination of events continuing into adjacent parts, as illustrated by the quickly following discoveries of precious metal on Fraser river, in Washington Idaho and Montana, in Colorado and Nevada, and elsewhere, the development of the great cattle interest in the Rocky mountain region, from Texas through Colorado Wyoming and Montana to British Columbia—a single glance at the existing state of affairs before this epoch, and at what followed it, overwhelms us with a sense of the marvels which have been accomplished within this short period of time by men most of whom are yet among the living.

The year 1848 was the date of the gold discovery. Steam had then been applied to locomotive engines scarcely twenty years. Steam navigation, both on inland waters and on the ocean, was in a crude condition. Indeed, eight years had barely elapsed since the first ocean steamship had been turned out of the New York yards, and but one year since the first United States mail steamship had been launched upon

the ocean. The first line of magnetic telegraph in the world, that from New York to Washington, had not been four years in operation. The first express line in the world, that between New York and Boston, had not been nine years running, and still assumed only the most insignificant proportions. Throughout all this western region there was scarcely a wheeled conveyance, except a few emigrant wagons and the Mexican *carreta*, or solid-wood-wheel cart; there were no agricultural or other implements of civilization worthy of the name; few if any farms, and little or no farm stock; there was scarcely a wagon-road, except the natural prairie, or the widened pack-mule trail; scarcely a postoffice, or any regular intercommunication anywhere, by land or water. All was a primeval wilderness; the faint sprinkling of settlers in certain parts, and the attempt at towns around the mission establishments on the seaboard south of San Francisco bay, hardly affecting the face of nature at all. Hot air power, electricity lighting, telephone talking, and like miracles of science were as far beyond human anticipation as was the way in which Puck was to put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes. Colt's revolver had just been invented, and this for the special divertisement of the devil in these parts.

What do we now behold? Throughout a vast region, which men at first regarded as absolutely worthless, we see the land inhabited by a thrifty and intelligent population; we see farms fenced, roads laid out, comfortable dwellings, and the implements of husbandry at work; we see mines developed, manufactures established, and hundreds of miles of irrigating canals. A great commerce has sprung up—

towns and cities with their busy hives of industry ; fleets of vessels ; postal, express, and telegraph facilities, and railroads in operation everywhere.

Who has accomplished this ? What Caesar or Napoleon has wrought this wondrous change ? No such agency. It has been done, not by military genius or supernatural power, but by plain, practical men, laboring each for himself, his family, his locality, but in the aggregate accomplishing greater results than ever have been done by any king, potentate, or government on earth—aye, more than has been accomplished within the time and in equal area by all the kings and potentates and governments combined. It would seem a duty to the public no less than to themselves that their friends and the world at large know more of them, of their life, and the means by which they accomplished their life work.

It was thus that these volumes came into existence ; the plan formulated itself, arising in the truest sense from the necessities of the case. It seemed absolutely essential, before it could be said that a complete historical presentation had been made, of the country and those who had made it, of the empire and builders of empire, that the history have a biographical section, devoted primarily to the men, as the historical section proper is devoted primarily to the events, and which would be in the truest sense a book of historical biography and characterization.

At the same time, here was an opportunity to do much better than simply present a collection of detached biographies of the most influential and prominent personages, after the usual form, howsoever good and valuable such a work would be in connection

with the history. But what would make it ten-fold more interesting and valuable would be to take one by one the more important of these men of strength and influence, and after a thorough character study, place their portraits in the midst of the work which they have done, and in company with kindred industries accomplished by others, and round the whole throw a frame-work of history, surrounding the frame-work with fresh biographies, as the necessity arises for them to appear, in the form of added volumes. Here, then, are embalmed in the annals of their own time and country the men and their deeds, there to remain, the benefits and blessings conferred during life thus being made perpetual.

To this biographical section of my historical series was given the name, after the most careful consideration, of *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*, which I have decided to adopt as most appropriate. Those whose lives we write, whose deeds we chronicle, are the makers and rulers of the commonwealth, the political and social dominators, the embodiment of the power, wealth, and intelligence of the community, paying allegiance to none ; and they are builders of empire, having already laid the foundation for more advanced commonwealths than any the world has yet witnessed.

The frame-work, or historical and industrial structure, in which portraits and biographies are inserted, with the several divisions of their section of the history, is as follows :

I. Sources of Power and Progress, and the Influences Early Dominating America, particularly the Northwestern Part thereof.

- II. GOVERNMENT.—Officials, Legislators, The Judiciary, Military, Lawyers, and Political Leaders.
- III. AGRICULTURE.—Agriculturists, Irrigationists, Orchardists, Stock-Raisers, and Viniculturists.
- IV. MINES AND MANUFACTURERS.—Owners, Mines, Mining Ditches, Crushing Mills and Reduction Works, and Leaders in Mining Stock Operations, Owners of Metal, Wood, Sugar, Flour, Fibre, Electrical and Chemical Works, Makers of Machinery, Fish and Fruit Packers.
- V. ROUTES AND TRANSPORTATION.—Railway, Steamship, Telegraph, Telephone, and Express Officials.
- VI. COMMERCE.—Merchants, Bankers, and Insurance Officials.
- VII. SOCIETY.—Real Estate Owners, Capitalists, Educators, Physicians, The Clergy, Men of Science and Literature, Journalists, Artists, Architects, and Actors.

To study the lives of great men is natural and beneficial. It is elevating and improving to search out in every community those who have accomplished most for good, those who are doing most for the advancement of mind and the purification of morals. Great men have their mission. They are the embodiment of progress. Inferior minds, without the influence of those intellects which in some degree dominate events, are retrograde.

They who accomplish most are greatest. They who achieve most are best. For men strive to achieve the beneficial, not the detrimental. We plant our fields to corn and olives, not to thistles and noxious weeds. Absorbing wealth as a sponge

absorbs water is not creating, or in anywise improving; hence, not all rich men are admirable. They alone are worthy of imitation who take in hand the crude materials of nature and make them beneficial to man. It is proper and just that men thus made prominent by their merits should be emulated and honored. It is by them and through them that the race advances. The quality of the community is elevated by them; every citizen is raised in importance through the genius of one man. To be of Athens, or Rome, or Stratford-upon-Avon is to have been bathed in the atmosphere perfumed by the god-like in humanity.

I confess to a profound admiration for men of superior efforts and accomplishments, for men of strength and ability, of applied genius,—great men if you will; for no man ever yet performed a great work who was not entitled himself to be called great. I like to begin with the boyhood of prominent men, and follow these strong, deep natures from their incipency all through the several stages of intellectual and physical development, until the grand consummation of their lives has been attained. I like to watch the gradual formation of character, the engendering conditions of parentage, physical environment, and education, the unfolding of physical and intellectual strength, the courage and endurance displayed under discomfiture and disappointments, and the application of will power to the overcoming of obstacles. In this character study of great men, in the analysis of ingredient qualities and the individualizations attending it, we derive the greatest pleasure and profit.

It is in no sense exaggeration to say that within the territory of which we have been speaking has been performed the greatest work the world has ever witnessed or will ever again behold. I speak advisedly. No such miracle of development within so short a period has ever before come to pass; and it never can happen again, because the engendering conditions can never be duplicated. The results of the application here of intelligent effort are remarkable. Within the short period of thirty or fifty years a vast wilderness has been transformed into a seat of high civilization. This work has not been done by one great man but by many great men; builders of empire, who have here laid the foundations of progressive commonwealths broader and better than they have known. Some of them are to be found in every center of population, for no considerable community could have been formed without them. They are entitled to all honor. Their deeds should be recorded and their memory embalmed in the annals of the nation. This is the province of history.

Most of those the history of whose lives appear in this work are founders of families no less than founders of the commonwealth, and in thus making in some degree their lives perpetual, and continuing the beneficial results thence arising throughout all time, the greatest benefits to mankind must necessarily accrue. If the study of nature is improving to the heart and mind of man, how much more the study of man himself, who is the crowning work of nature. Therefore I say, had there been granted me the privilege of standing by at the great creation, and witnessing, as an intelligent spectator, the work of

the Almighty in originating and organizing the agencies of force and matter, in setting in motion whirling worlds and planting in inorganic substances the seeds of life and evolution, next only to the interest I fancy I might have felt in such a wondrous sight, is that which I now feel in following the men whom the Almighty has endowed with some portion of his intelligence and power, in their subordination of nature to their own purposes, chaining the lightning, casting down mountains, and bridging chasms, belting the earth with steam highways, disemboweling the hills for their treasures, and overspreading the primeval wilderness with the fair fields and happy homes of civilization.

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CHRONICLES OF THE BUILDERS.

CHAPTER I.

SOURCES OF POWER AND INFLUENCE.

PLAN OF THE WORK—MAN PREEMINENTLY RULER—HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY—ASSOCIATION AND ENVIRONMENT—THE LESSONS OF HISTORY—ATTRIBUTIONS OF THE WESTERN WILDERNESS—MYTHS AND MYSTERIES—THE FUR TRADE—THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—FOUNDING OF ASTORIA—LIFE OF JOHN JACOB ASTOR—WILLIAM B. ASTOR—LIFE OF JOHN JACOB ASTOR THE YOUNGER—WILLIAM WALDORF ASTOR—THE NORTHWEST COMPANY.

It is my purpose to present in these volumes the biographies of some of those who have exercised an influence, for good or evil, in shaping events, building commonwealths, and establishing civilization and society in these later-developed American domains. And as the personages with whom I deal have been or are our real rulers, whether occupying a gubernatorial chair, directing the flow of merchandise, or supplying meat for the millions; whether priest, teacher, or physician; whether manufacturer or miner, cattle-raiser or railway-builder; whether lawyer, legislator, farmer, or mechanic; as they exercise in their several relations a paramount influence over each other and over the body politic, leading, directing, swaying, and controlling the affairs of individuals, communities, states, and nations, it is well first of all to inquire whence proceeds this power, and to examine somewhat the nature and action of human potency.

For these our Builders of the Commonwealth not

only direct, but do; not only are they rulers, but originators, establishing governments over themselves and others, carving out of blind fate their own destiny and the destinies of those around them. All that the ordinary or orthodox ruler is or does, they are and do; they are the supreme intelligence, the supreme influence, the supreme authority, in whom vests every prerogative and all preponderance, who, in their several spheres, know all that is known and can do all that can be done; they are the executive arm of the natural and the high-priests of the supernatural, the god of conventionality and the scourge of the sinful. They are feared and loved; yet not loved from fear, but feared for love, as Bacon hath it. Invested with unlimited patronage, they carry great responsibilities. They bless and curse, and are a law unto themselves, holding in their hand the power of life and death, meting out rewards and punishments with none to question.

Not that all men dominate. The great horde of humanity are anything but noble, either in bearing, intelligence, or mental or moral qualities; yet some may be lords, be the suzerainty no more than a kennel. Wherever the ruler, there must be subjects; there must be many subjects for every one ruler. From the beginning man and nature have been under universal domination. Man regulates and is regulated by his fellow-man; nature teaches and governs man, and may be made in some small degree subordinate to him. Some are created to rule, others to be ruled; for, as Carlyle remarks, "it is the everlasting privilege of fools to be governed by the wise." In the earlier epochs of human development, men held power as heroes and chiefs; then as high-priests, barons, and kings; and later as manipulators of power born of free politics, mind, and money. These last are our American rulers of to-day, the line of supremacy extending much further than is commonly brought within the category.

Every one of our builders is a personage of power in one direction or another, power of mind or money, power of education, refinement, religion, or as a shining light of society; for mankind consists mainly of puppets, the wires of which are worked by the master-hands, these being few. It is well known that throughout all ages and realms, in the world of matter and the world of mind, in the universe material and the universe impalpable, there is one absolute and eternal principle pervading all—power. There is the potency of physical strength, the power of matter over matter, and of matter over mind; and the potency of intellectual strength, the power of mind over matter, and of mind over mind.

There are many kinds of powers throughout this universe. There are the powers terrestrial and the powers celestial, the powers of light and darkness, of good and evil, of life and death. And there are powers that are no powers, only imaginary potencies, springing from the fermentations of ignorance and superstition. And more than any other, more than all others combined, of earth, or sea, or sky, save those influences alone which yield food and raiment, these imaginary powers, these hollow myths and senseless traditions, and the beliefs, theories, doctrines, and dogmas thereby engendered, have ever influenced man, urging him on to bloody wars, to deeds of injustice and infamy, and luring him in divers ways to his destruction.

And not men only, but beasts, and all inanimate nature, whether rejoicing in a knowledge of it or not, covet power; likewise deities and devils. It seems somewhat abnormal that a thing so universally desired, so strenuously sought after, should be so universally and liberally distributed. Though it is everywhere, illimitable, omnipotent, and eternal, all intelligences, real and imaginary, material and spiritual, crave it—all they can get of it, each one grasping all of it, were that possible. Be it a son of Adam, or be it Lucifer,

he would rule king of men; he would be possessor of the world, of all worlds, of all bodies and souls, of all influences and entities; be it a beast, it would rule king of beasts, or chief of a band, or master of one, if nothing more; or if a reptile even, it would be the biggest toad in the puddle.

The tendency of power is to increase; if it grows not it retrogrades and dies. Power craves power; power begets power.

Power signifies possession. Without possession there is no power. Possession is power. To hold in one's own keeping that which all men desire, to have under one's own control that which controls all men, to be able to influence that which influences all—this is possession, power. This puissance may be latent or active, inherent or acquired; it may be action, or the ability to act, a performing, or the faculty of performing, a controlling or suffering, or the capacity to control or to suffer. It may be a mental or mechanical agent, or the means by which mental or mechanical force is generated.

Possession is occupancy or ownership. It may be rightful or wrongful holding—it is the same, possession, and consequently power. A country may be gained by conquest, a horse by theft, country and horse are alike at the service of the possessor as long as he can hold them.

To be able to do, to possess the means or faculty of doing, performing, or producing an effect, this is force. There is the power of motion, and the power of remaining at rest; the power of heat, steam, electricity, of attraction and repulsion, and so forth. There is a passive strength in the susceptibility of being acted upon; as Sir W. Hamilton says, "in psychology, we may apply it both to the active faculty and to the passive capacity of the mind"; and Fleming remarks, "it is usual to speak of a power of resistance in matter, and of a power of endurance in mind. Both these are passive power."

Hence it is that no being or thing can exist without the possession, to a greater or less extent, of power, either in the direction of purely material or animal strength, or in the direction of mental force, as displayed in reason or the imagination. Shakespeare speaks of the power of fancy, Dryden of the power of fate, Shelley of the power of soul, Macaulay of the power of language.

It is not difficult to perceive the power of wealth, how money commands all, buys the services and respect of others, and influences all that most affects us. But there is also the power of poverty, which is no less easy of demonstration. For if there were no poverty, there would be no wealth, poverty being but the absence of wealth; and if there were no poverty, wealth would have no power. If all were equally rich, or equally poor, one would not wait upon another, one could not buy or sell another. It is only by the unequal distribution of the gifts of the gods that the equilibrium of progressional activities is preserved; were it otherwise, stagnation and death would ensue.

Political power may be wielded by the persons in office, or by king-makers, or politicians who place men in office, in which latter case such power is the power behind the throne. A nation is a power among nations, and may, besides, be a great naval or military power, a moral power, a financial power.

What shall we say of the grand passion, love?—that power of powers, uniting the strongest appetites of the flesh with the superlative sentiments of the soul. There are the instincts of self-preservation and race-preservation revealing themselves in a hunger whose outward manifestation is the love of woman. Powerful, indeed, are the forces which produce the phenomena of propagation and nourishment. The feeling within us is wholly natural, though unexplainable, that the brief period of our life is not complete without children to share it, offspring with their de-

pendence and trust, and to whom we may bequeath some results of our labors, and continue in some small degree the efforts of our lives on this earth after we shall have left it.

Poets have written volumes on the power of love, and the grand passion is presented in myriads of romances, and on the boards of theatres, every day, the world over. There is no sentiment or principle which so permeates the inner consciousness and heart of man, which so rules the daily, domestic, and social life of man as the family affections. Then there is the form of love called lust, and illicit indulgence, which is scarcely less powerful, though tending to the degradation of the finer sensibilities, and all the nobler instincts of family and legitimate love. But within the sacred precincts of the family there is no less desecration than elsewhere; for marriage without love is as much prostitution as love without marriage.

Iniquity of all kinds is a power—instance the monopolist, with his unjustly accumulated millions, the heartless speculator, who corners wheat, sends up the price of food, and reduces the inhabitants of a district to the verge of starvation. These are not workers or producers; they are of no value whatever to a community, but a curse to it; yet they are a power, a mighty power for evil, like noxious weeds or foul beasts under the noses of honest men. Banditti, thieves, murderers, ballot-box stuffers, and malefactors generally are a power, it being for these that governments are organized, prisons built, and laws established, with law courts, and learned limbs of the law.

For the origin of power, the scientist refers you to nature, the religionist to God. All knowledge, justice, goodness, and truth, says the latter, emanate from the almighty, the creator and ruler of all, who, himself loving power supremely, and possessing supreme power, may yet delegate his attributes to chosen instruments for administration among the sons of men. And herein is engendered a mighty power—the power of

God on earth, which, whether fancy or terrible reality, is none the less puissant. Then, beginning with the overawing demonstrations bred by the ignorance of early ages, change succeeds change, and yet there is nothing lost. Crusades for the capture of a golden fleece, or the rescue of a holy sepulchre, have passed away; but in their place are steamships and dynamite, free government and popular tribunals.

As in the material agencies of nature, so in the immaterial, there is an eternity of force; nothing is lost, no dropping out of existence of any potential or influential energy. There are infinite shiftings of positions and changes of possessors, but visible or invisible, palpable or impalpable, all might, mastery, sovereignty, that ever has been is now, and will continue. The power of religion, of superstition, of spiritual ignorance, and mythical tradition has decreased, and is decreasing, while the power of natural law, natural morality, of reason and reality, is proportionately enlarging. For the chivalry of the Middle Age we now have the humanity of a higher culture; and as the heroic ardor of mediæval Europe was not a development from proximate facts, an instantaneous blending of war and religion, but rather an evolution of Germanic manners springing from conditions and circumstances long before existing, so our present higher humanity is not the growth of an hour, but a moral and social necessity which has been slowly forced upon us by the inexorable law of progress from the beginning.

And of all powers, this power of progress is the most wonderful; that is, the least understood and the least explainable. The forces of nature we feel, and their existence we know; but what they are or whence derived we cannot tell. The might of mind, of reason, consciousness, and intellectuality we likewise feel and know, but these are also beyond the ken of human understanding. To fathom progress, we must know not only the elemental forces of nature, their origin and composition, but we must understand universal

evolution—not only why and how plants and animals grow, but how and why the species constantly improve; not only why and how among men is the constant advancement in the nature and quality of arts and industries, but what it is—this mighty development of the human intellect called civilization.

History is but an aggregation of biographies; but biography is more than history. It is impossible properly to present the man apart from his environment; nothing can be more suitable for our portraits than a frame-work of history; nevertheless, besides the surroundings and outward appearance of the person, the true biographer will institute in every case a searching analysis of character, such as will bring out in bold relief quality and individuality, thus sometimes making the man a marvel to himself—for among the things of which we know least is ourselves.

The frame-work then in which I propose to set my portraits shall be woven from a historic thread, itself dotted with pictures of the men who made the history, together with the conditions surrounding or affecting the individual, such as relate more particularly to physical resources and development, with something of society and general progression.

But before history and condition, even, it seems to me eminently fitting to allow our minds to dwell for a moment on the origin and nature of those forces which environ and govern man, and all things else in the universe, which teach men to rule, and give the appetite for supremacy, that we may be the better able, from the cause and consequence, to explain the nature of the product, and compare and measure it with other results proceeding from other causes.

Coeval with time, anterior to the universe, appears domination: a phenomenon inseparably connected with the cosmic germ noumenon: co-existing with the first matter from which evolved the world system.

Whether we accept a self-conscious creator, or blind chance, as presiding at the dawn of existence, the mind perceives certain forces which, primarily intermingling with chaos, sped forth to fashion worlds, and to set them revolving in space. Gravity draws atom to atom, and each accession adds to the power and gyrating velocity of the mass. With the increase of speed is increased the resistance of non-sympathetic elements, inert gases, counter-moving bodies, friction, which from the ponderous bulk segregates orb after orb, until the excess is reduced, or until compactness is complete. In this struggle for supremacy, the weakness, caused by extreme activity, and by disunion, yields the advantage to opposing forces, which vary in degree with their contiguity, volume, and density; and thus results a corresponding inequality of masses, and the consequent predominance of the strongest, within certain bounds.

Throughout, gravity enforces the observance of law, guiding planets round suns, and systems round systems, in mazy paths.

Here is force impelling and controlling matter; soul animating substance; authority uniting a federation of interdependent governments. While bound to other systems, the sun regulates its own planets, leaving to them the main direction of their satellites. So masses predominate over atoms, atoms over molecules, in graded subordination, although permeated by the one all-potential pantheistic spirit.

Association becomes the vivifying condition. The atom by itself is inert, but in the gravity and intercourse of particles is born the phenomenon of force. The struggles of cohesion among molecules result in the domination of the greater mass, with the reservation that the *circulus aterni motus* marking universal energy and action, in seeking to gather all matter into one mass, which would be equivalent to repose or death, is counteracted by its redundancy, its intensity, and heterogeneity. Approximate harmony becomes

a controlling law, which demands and enforces a balance of power, as instanced in the great principle of duality, in positive and negative qualities.

The manifestation of cosmic force in gravity, heat, electricity, and other mechanical and chemical phases, is revealed to us daily in the formation and condensation of gases, the dissolution and compression of earth and rock: oceans are made and dissipated, mountains uplifted and leveled, and continents born and buried. In minute details or all-embracing generalities, the process of attraction and repulsion goes on, binding and balancing, creating and undoing. Yet midst all the seeming confusion of life-giving and death-dealing forces, unalterable laws prevail, ranged in orderly sequence. From the same causes are produced similar effects under like conditions. Diversity merges into uniformity, change into constancy, sunshine, rain, and wind succeed each other; heat and moisture start vegetation. Inorganic matter assimilates, and out of it spring organic substances. Inferior elements feed the superior, until is evolved a vast system of transformations, with an attendant metempsychosis from minute atom into infinite nirvana.

The struggle for domination is more conspicuous in organic life. Cells decompose and renew, instinct is arrayed against instinct, elements and qualities against each other. The hardy weed will overrun the field and garden, and exterminate the feebler cultivated plant: by absorbing moisture and sunshine the tree will kill or dwarf the minor vegetation within the limits of its spreading roots or shadow. So beasts prey on beasts, assisted by muscular strength, subtlety of instinct, and developed cunning, from which the weaker save themselves by watchfulness, advantages of environment, flight, and other precautions. The survival of the fittest is here attained less by the physical advantage of massiveness and strength, which predominate in organic and inorganic matter, than by

brain power, as shown by the supremacy of man.

The inequality which lies at the foundation of domination throughout nature is strikingly exhibited in that intimate attendant on man, the dog. It ranges in the variety of size and traits, from the fierce mastiff, the noble St. Bernard, and the fleet greyhound, to the docile poodle, the intelligent and courageous terrier, and the puny lap spaniel. Among men the difference in stature is less than the difference in mental and moral qualities. This intellectual difference appears the greater when we consider the helplessness of the infant as compared with the young of most animals, and the inferiority of brutes to adult human beings.

Man's advance in domination is slow. Life is a series of experiments. He wills, and nerves and muscles perform the bidding; but their power is limited, and the directing mind is restrained by the effect of its own over-exertion. He then becomes prudent and acquires skill. Perceiving his danger and the limit of his capabilities, he learns to ward off the one, and to extend the other by subordinating fresh forces. He multiplies himself.

His ascendancy over nature was achieved by means of implements, and an intelligent combination of hands and heads for defence or onslaught. He hunted and fished; he seized a stick to strike down the forest beasts, and constructed a snare with which to entrap the wild fowl. In due time stone, club, and spear developed into sword, bow, and boomerang; the boat appeared, to be supplied in due time with sails and rudder. Thus he harnessed the wind and rode the wave. Yet how slow the fashioning of the tools for even this poor subordination of nature! The capabilities of the sail were not understood until far into the middle ages. The tempering of bronze and iron came about very gradually. Earlier even than the primitive sail dates the taming of the elephant and the horse; and in mounting these mighty

animals the rider received an ineffaceable impress of dignity as the lord of creation. It was an epoch in the history of sovereignty. It was a culminating feature in nomad life, which, by a peculiar exercise of courage and skill, and by the exhilaration of speed, fed the pride of mastery, extended man's vision beyond the hitherto limited horizon, stirred curiosity and thirst for acquisition, and gave new life to migration and conquest. The grassy hills and fertile valleys tempted others to a pastoral or an agricultural life.

The predilection for special food, drinks, and trinkets stimulated workers to greater exertion and skill, and the superior taste developed by settled life demanded improved shelter: the cultivation of fields was attended by the leveling of forests; solar heat was used to bake bricks, and, subsequently, fire to temper them. Love of ornament, whether emanating from vanity or a Platonic striving for the beautiful, fostered a desire for finer clothing, which, moreover, presented one of the best mediums for the use, display, and investment of wealth. Appetite and ambition led to rivalry and feuds, which developed the strength and ability to achieve distinction.

The change of seasons, with the attendant fluctuation in supplies, forced upon the mind the necessity of accumulation, which constitutes so essential an element in progress, as illustrated by the greater advance in temperate than in tropic zones. In accumulation, industry presented itself as one important factor in the acquisition of such power over the less fortunate as lay in wealth.

Man is a social being. Intercourse leads in him, as among the cosmic masses, to the unfolding of beneficent forces, to language, to exchange of ideas, to progress. This finds illustration around us in the development of helpless infancy into vivacious youth and strong manhood; in historic expansion, as of

Greece, under the stimulating Olympic gatherings, from barbarism into the most prosperous and enlightened among states; in the fruitful results of commercial intercourse alike among the Phœnicians and among the distant nations which they visited.

The social instinct is prompted by the necessity for mutual aid, for the division of labor, for organized association. This growing mutual dependence is most evident in war, in attack and defence. Tempted by the possessions of their prosperous neighbors, the stronger tribes will attack and plunder them. The mountaineers, for instance, make raids upon the occupants of the plain; the roaming nomads upon the valley settlers. Very early in the history of men combinations are made to preserve the balance of power. Atomic combinations and balanced masses prevail throughout nature. Individuality is a confederacy of the elements and organs composing the body; nationality of those composing the state.

Thus we see two ruling sentiments which crop out in man at every turn: love of liberty, and a spirit of determination to follow his own will and impose it upon others. As all are similarly actuated, resistance interposes a check to otherwise unrestrained inclination, and demands a respect for individual rights. These are subordinate to might, however, especially in savage times; and as in nature volume and activity control all, in man muscle and mind are influential. The bent for ruling is fostered in the family, where the male prevails over the weaker female and children, and where is established a semi-slavery, in patriarchal form, over the gradually increasing dependents. The consequent leisure of the master gives the opportunity for the practice of arts conducive to the extension of authority, as oratory, whereby wisdom is inculcated and enthusiasm aroused; also athletic feats, and impressive display in costly attire and dignified bearing. So strives the bird to please its mate, and surpass its rival in song and plumage.

The doctrine of the survival of the fittest finds its most conspicuous illustration in the rise of a leader, a strong man who, perceiving the emergency, seizes the opportunity to lift himself by aiding others. He thus sways those about him through their deference for skill and courage, as bombast, hypocrisy, and craft may prevail in other fields. Leadership gives the seal to tribal union or nationality. It unfurls the standard which kindles or inspires men's national pride. Instance Cyaxares, by whom the Medes were raised to temporary greatness; Jenghis Khan and Timour, who transformed hordes into conquerors; Cyrus, who created an enduring empire; Peter the Great, who started the progressive march of the Russians.

Harmonious association depending on the observance of the tacit or formal agreement which binds it, a guardian supervision became necessary to watch over its fulfilment and over particular rights. Capacity for participation in the government being scant in early times, the tendency was naturally to monarchy. The primitive patriarchal rule being autocratic, the comparatively lawless condition of the people demanded a similarly strong authority when circumstances called for a head. Pierce elements require a strong hand, like the wild horse, which, after roaming unrestrained over the steppes, must be curbed by severe treatment and held firmly in hand, yet soon obeying the lightest rein. The despot serves to discipline the lawless, to guide the childhood of the nation. He becomes obnoxious only when culture has imposed upon the people a healthful self-restraint. Even now the turbulent Mexicans require a military head, practically a dictator, to control them for their weal, while the people of the adjoining United States are able to govern themselves with the merest effigy as administrator.

Round the autocrat prominent families and officials rally, with the conservative instincts centring in pos-

sessions and inherited privileges, and with a sympathetic desire to share in and sustain domination. As aggression calls for troops, so conquest gives the pretence for maintaining standing armies, and their dependence upon the leader for spoils and pay forms a bond between them. The latter naturally gives his supporters the preference in distributing offices and lands; the conquered people being oftentimes assigned in bondage to the conquerors, though in small apportionments, for their better supervision and control by the chief authority. Thus with every act of robbery and injustice is added another link to the chain, while superstition is invoked to weld it firmer and firmer. The ruler is installed with religious rites and oracular designations: apotheosis frequently follows. As late as the time of Alexander divine paternity was alleged, and to-day in some quarters the divine right of kings is still unblushingly proclaimed. Sanctified tradition is upheld by complex ceremonials and splendor of attire and abode, all serving to impress the unleavened masses with the desired awe, and fascinate and fetter all those who are permitted to walk in such radiant paths. Yet traditions and conventionalities, especially when permeated by religion, as in Egypt, are safeguards for those whom they aim to overwhelm, as they constrain the monarch to his observance of accepted rules and duty.

Unfortunately the religious regulations were too protective, primarily for the controlling powers, and for the other classes successively, according to their several relations to the former. Castes, enslavement of men, bodily and mental, industrial stagnation, and other evils resulted from the protraction of this leading-string system, which, as in childhood, is beneficial only in limited and temporary form.

Domination and rule were evolved not alone through the necessity of assuring to the people their safety and rights, nor by causes incidental to a division of labor, nor to correct the abuses arising from the ine-

quality of the subjects; but they arose also from imperfection of mind and matter, stamped in those inequalities and wants, and in the circumscribed limits to all efforts. Our understanding loses itself in roaming beyond the bounds of the tangible and finite, and rarely grasps even such distinctions as the relative and positive qualities of good and evil, virtue and vice, the one being the insufficiency or excess of the other, a warning to enforce the rational and proper enjoyment of what will in the end prove the best.

The defects of our mind, tending to magnify the mysterious, readily conjure up phantoms, connected at first with the startling phenomena of nature, and then, as these become understood, with the more abstruse cosmic operations and the inconceivable infinite. The rustling branches of the fruit-bearing tree, the overflowing river, alike beneficent and destructive, the lurking life within the seed, the phantoms of dreamland, all suggest more immediate causes for good and evil, to be invoked and appeased, than the raging storm, the fertilizing rain, or the warming sun. Yet these last were first worshipped. With liberating knowledge the mind soars beyond, into the higher realms of polytheism, of loftiest monotheism, and pantheism: yet even there, as in the Brahma and Siva, Ormuzd and Ahriman, it invests infinite beings with a leveling personality, to bring them within the range of the understanding, only to admit fresh superstitions with new corruptions, and transform ministering angels to devils of darkness, and elevating rites to debasing idolatry.

The chains which bind the victim of transmitted slavery to the dominating supernatural are broken occasionally by the bold resolution of innate strength and superiority, amounting to inspiration or genius. Juarez and Lerdo de Tejada in Mexico are fair examples of this species of self-emancipation and emancipation of country. But it is usually through the reason and reflection arising from an increase of knowledge

that the fetters of the mind are broken. And to the lover of truth, the thought is most refreshing that the time will come when all mists will be dissipated, mysticism thrown out of the category of knowledge, men knowing what they believe and believing only what they know. We have the pledge and guarantee of progress that in the end only real and tangible truth shall remain. At the present time there are those who, being able to command both fear and learning, take care to secure command of the main-springs of action, and play upon them to their own purposes. They play upon superstition, conjure up mirages of brighter days and the bliss of futurity, and employ the illusive arguments of asceticism to commend poverty and ignorance, which, hostile to progress, are nevertheless favorable to the ambitious aims of the leaders of mankind. Then, hastening to secure the substance so foolishly abandoned by their dupes for the shadow, they strengthen themselves with the monopoly of knowledge and wealth, blinding their subjects to the trickery by the glitter of pageantry and pomp, and by the soothing counsels and fascinating hopes poured forth in fiery eloquence. Thus dare chicanery and cunning to enlist even incomprehensible divinity, unfathomable infinity, to serve their base purposes.

The springs of human action may be played upon with intentions good or evil, frequently with equal ultimate good or evil results. Contentment often leads to inaction, stagnation, decline; luxury to dissipation, undermining health and squandering property. Thus we see fanaticism and greed serving as stimulants to the acquisition of knowledge, and to progress. War has its value in enforcing association, wherein lies all true and great development. Excess, nevertheless, in this and other things may result in such desolation as to wither all elements conducive to growth. The predominance of evil, to the pessimist, is owing to the lack of proper efforts to check extrav-

agance. In activity, or speed, as in passiveness, success depends on the relative proportion of different qualities or elements.

As in the celestial sphere excess of material leads to dismemberment, so in the political universe. The cohesion of vast empires of heterogeneous composition is not common; even though Iranians, Quirites, and Saracens introduced methods and ideas which upheld their sway for centuries. Disruption was brought about by means similar to those employed for acquisition by invasion and conquest, as instanced by the rise and fall of Rome; also by that feature, conservative of both supremacy and equality, inheritance, as shown by the fate of Charlemagne's empire; and further, by civil dissension, due less to ambitious intrigues than to corruption on the part of the prince, as Montesquieu declares. The rallying-cries of rights and principles, raised by remonstrating factions, find an echo beyond the physical dividing lines which rise as natural barriers between races. Resolution creates resources for the struggle; the selfish interests of neighbors prompt them to aid in the dismemberment of powerful rivals, and perseverance brings success. The histories of Greece and England reveal how emergencies are seized by the people for obtaining a share in the government, and limiting the authority of rulers, and how the king and aristocracy strive to regain the concession. The training acquired by participation in the government, and in local administration, serves to instil into the minds of men the self-control and respect for rights and laws which make possible the light rule of modern republics, and incite elsewhere a healthy aspiration among the masses and an abatement of autocracy.

The inherent sovereignty of civilization over savagism is like the sovereignty of God over man, or of man over nature. It is one with the universal domination of the powers of progress, resulting in the

supremacy of the fittest. It is a sovereignty predetermined and inexorable. The merciless law of evolution knows no distinction between right and wrong, good and evil, justice and injustice. It is absolute, omnipotent, and takes no notice of the laws of man. Right and righteousness are on the side of the strongest, who, whether or not, from a moral point of view, they deserve to survive, as a matter of fact do survive, and overawe and subdue all the rest. Under the wheels of the great juggernaut car of progress, destiny is ever flinging the weak, the timid, the simple, whose bones with grim satisfaction it grinds to powder. Wherever savagism encounters civilization, whether in the garb of kindness or cruelty, whether in the form of soldier, priest, or trader, the former must give way. It is so written in the law.

In the westward advance of the Aryans in America from the Antilles into the southern and central parts of the continent, and from the eastern seaboard inward, the farthest northwest was among the last regions to be entered. This long abandonment to primeval isolation was less due to its remoteness from the line of march than to the absence of those treasures or flourishing native cities, which alone could have tempted adventurers beyond the limits of methodical development. The Spaniards were accordingly confined for over two centuries within the more southern latitudes, while the French and Anglo-Saxons spread slowly northward along the eastern coast, battling with adversity, and limited at the first to a narrow strip of seaboard by the forbidding interior, with its hardships and hostile savages.

Nevertheless, there were attractions in this western wilderness which in due time drew men thither. Furs abounded beyond the range of settlement, which in some respects gave returns as liberal as mines of precious metal. Another less tangible attraction to the explorer was the elusive vision of a strait, which gradually changed to that of a northwest passage,

and later induced many an enthusiast to voyage in quest of the north pole. It was a fancy cherished since the days of Prince Henry the navigator, even then figuring as a sea route to the Indies. With the discovery that America blocked the way, it reduced itself to the slender confines of a channel through the supposed island group or southeastern projection of Asia. The disclosures made by isthmian coastings and expeditions, and the first circumnavigation by Magellan, revealing a vast continent, the search turned with the compass northward through the northeastern projection of the oriental continent. The finding of such a passage would have led to the establishment of forts and settlements along its shores for guarding the transit to the spice islands, and for supplying and trading with passing fleets; and from so profitable a nucleus would have sprung widespread colonization, especially toward the south.

It was a prize worth contending for, with fame for the discoverer and substantial benefits for the nation; and the appetite of both was sharpened by the hope of stumbling upon mines and peoples as rich as those which had tempted the Spaniards in the south. The wonders and mysteries of the remote and hidden had their special fascinations, and men were not lacking whose vivid imagination conjured up great cities and golden mountains from vague rumor, or well-defined straits from the faint indication of some inlet, which storms, sickness, or other obstacles had prevented them from entering. Others raised similar reports on mere assumption, to secure a share in the prospective glory of the real discoverer, or to obtain temporary gain as leaders, pilots, or contractors. Indeed, mendacity here assumes the heroic. Thus conquerors thirsting for lands, wealth, and offices, and friars for souls and ecclesiastic rule, stood ready to enter the paths to be opened by explorers.

The Atlantic side was diligently examined under Spanish auspices from South America to Florida and

beyond, under Columbus, Ojeda, Nicuesa, Cordova, Narvaez, Soto, and others. Soto, moreover, penetrated inland for 150 miles along a range extending from the present state of Texas, through Arkansas to Georgia, while Cabeza de Vaca crossed from Texas through Chihuahua to Sonora, and gave the incentive for Coronado's expedition through Arizona and New Mexico into Kansas, which reduced the rumored gilded cities to wigwam villages. English, Portuguese, and French joined in the search for a route, under Cabot, the Cortereals, and Cartier, the last penetrating far up the St Lawrence to the falls of St Louis. Thus by the middle of the sixteenth century the eastern coast had been explored as far as Hudson strait.

On the Pacific side Balboa led the way to similar exploration along the shores disclosed by him and opened the path for conquerors, who within a decade overran Central America and Mexico. Cortés extended the knowledge of this coast to both sides of Lower California, and Cabrillo beyond the 34th parallel, perhaps to Oregon's southern line, which remained practically the limit of north-western exploration for two centuries, owing to the discouraging revelation that in this direction there were no regions worthy of conquest. The hope of finding a passage had also been disappointed by the presumption that it could not be expected to exist south of latitude 60° .

Nevertheless speculation revived in time, and not alone Hudson strait but the river St Lawrence were soon afterward assumed to be the mouths of a channel which, under the fanciful name of Anian, should connect with the Pacific somewhere above the present California line. In support of this theory navigators were named who had either heard of or sailed through that canal. Sufficient doubt certainly remained to warrant further search. Frobisher found wide openings west of Greenland, and John David in 1585-7 applied his name to a wide strait in latitude 72° . In

1610 Henry Hudson created a flutter of expectation by sailing into the great bay named after him, and where his cowardly crew cast him adrift to die. Six years later Baffin immortalized himself by reaching latitude 78° , and upholding the reputation of the English as the foremost of Arctic explorers.

About the same time the British established permanent colonies along the coast from Virginia to Massachusetts; and the French, who had in 1562-5 made their entry into Canada, resumed the occupation of this Nouvelle France, and took the lead in daring explorations by land. Nicolet had by 1650 reached the shores of Lake Huron. Soon afterward trappers and missionaries arrived and penetrated to Hudson's bay, and in 1678 a fort was planted at Lake Superior. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette descended the Mississippi, ascertaining its course to be toward the Atlantic, and that a wide tributary slope must lie west of it. A few years later Père Hennepin travelled up the Mississippi to the falls of St Anthony, while his chief, La Salle, floated down the father of rivers to the gulf. This achievement obtained for him the grant of Louisiana, and furnished material for the fictitious expedition of Baron La Hontan. His misguided effort to found colonies within the grant resulted before the close of the century in permanent settlements, whence explorers and fur-traders pushed inward to connect with the line of forts planted by Canadian trappers from Hudson's bay down the banks of the Mississippi. On the Missouri the first fort was built in 1727, and during the following decade the Vérendrye expended a fortune in establishing a line of posts from Manitoba to the eastern base of the Rocky mountains, with the intention of extending it to the Pacific; but the plan was more than they could accomplish, and mercenary intriguers interfered to despoil them of the fruits of their labors. Marquette had already heard of a river flowing westward, beyond the dividing range, and a Missouri In-



dian, named Moncacht Apé, related to the French savant, La Page du Pratz, that he had descended that stream to the Pacific between 1745 and 1752. Captain J. Carver, who visited the upper Mississippi in the sixties, heard of this river of the West, and applied to it the name of Oregon, to which appellation the poet Bryant gave permanence in his *Thanatopsis*. Thus inland travellers, with the testimony of the savages, and the course and size of the streams, had by the middle of the eighteenth century pushed the mystic strait far into the Arctic, and opened to the view of the world a vast area abounding in furs, mines, and products of the soil.

Oñate's expeditions in New Mexico after 1598 met with many tantalizing rumors of the interior. The friar navigator, Urdañeta, had in 1565 opened the north sea route from the spice islands to Mexico, and among those who followed it, Gali skirted the coast for a certain distance, from latitude 57° , as some will have it, although this should undoubtedly read 37° . Vizcaino reached in 1602-3 the 42d parallel, and Drake in 1579 claimed a latitude fully as high. Their failure to ascertain anything of the coast beyond left room for the fictitious voyages of Juan de Fuca, whose happy guess at a strait in latitude 48° procured so wide a belief in his veracity that his name was applied to the inlet; of Maldonado, who in 1588 claimed to have sailed through the straits of Anian from ocean to ocean, from latitude 60° to 75° , and toward the end of the last century was believed by many to have passed through Bering strait; and of Admiral Fonte's similar achievement, so utterly at variance with facts as to be stamped as a hoax. The vagueness of geographic knowledge, as to this coast, is illustrated by the delineation of Lower California, which was displayed on the maps first as a peninsula, afterward as an island, and so remained far into the eighteenth century.

The solution came in time, however. In 1770 Hearne followed the Coppermine river to the Arctic sea, and fur stations rose on Athabasca and Peace rivers, facilitating expeditions to the Rocky mountains. In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie reached the same ocean by descending the great river bearing his name. Inspired by the result, three years later he crossed the Rocky Mountains along Peace river, and after wintering at Fork fort, he reached the Fraser, and striking across the continent beheld the Pacific at Bentinck north arm, on July 20, 1793, thus performing the first authentic passage of this slope in the north. It was an achievement to be expected from the advance of the fur-traders, but its early and happy accomplishment was due to the energy and reasoning power, the skill and determined courage of this hardy trader, who opened the way in the face of many dangers, through these unknown regions.

In the south the Spaniards had by this time occupied California, and made explorations from New Mexico to Great Salt lake. In the extreme north-west the Russian fur-hunters, after a century-march across Siberia, had learned vaguely of a land beyond the sea. In 1728 Vitus Bering discovered the dividing strait named after him, and thirteen years later, in company with Chirikof, his expedition discovered Alaska, whose wealth in furs quickly lured the Muscovites to occupy the country.

Their advance along the continent becoming known, jealousy roused the long slumbering Spaniards to fresh explorations, to secure the strait if such existed, and to anticipate the intruders in their claims upon the coast, by discovery if not by occupation. Perez sailed in 1774 from New Spain to latitude 55°, taking possession, and assisting in the following year the larger expedition under Heceta and Cuadra to examine the coast more closely as far as latitude 57°, especially from Nootka southward, the mouth of the Columbia being partially explored. Cuadra joined

Arteage shortly afterward in an exploration of Alaska. These voyages were not published, so that the names applied were replaced by subsequent, but better known English nomenclature. The first real explorer in these waters from England was James Cook, who, in seeking the strait in 1778, examined the coast from latitude 43° , northward, and more particularly beyond latitude 49° , and spread such information concerning its wealth in furs as to induce a number of trading vessels to visit that region.

This further influx of foreigners alarmed Spain anew; and in 1788-9 Martinez and Haro were sent to assert her claims to this region, on the ground of prior discovery, by establishing a fort at Nootka, on Vancouver island, and by seizing English vessels. The result was a threatening dispute between the respective governments. England pointed out that as Spain had failed to take advantage of her discoveries by actual occupation, her own explorations and acts of taking possession, under Drake, Cook, and other captains bore with them rights, to which an indisputable value had been imparted by actual commercial intercourse with the natives, and the establishment of camps and ship-yards, as well as the proclaimed purchase of large tracts from the aborigines. The obstinate Englishman would, no doubt, have wrested the advantage from the feeble Spaniard, but for the partiality of France for the latter. As it was, Spain consented to let the English share with her in trade, navigation, and settlement on the coast, above San Francisco, although she claimed that all territory south of Fuca strait should be recognized as hers. She offered this, in fact, as a limit; but the British commissioners sent out to verify the agreement, having no power to treat of boundaries, the restitution of confiscated property was alone secured. Spain soon afterward, in 1795, abandoned her fort at Nootka, and took no further steps to assert her rights above California, and the English government being equally

indifferent, the coast was left open to other nationalities.

Before the final adjustment of the Nootka affair Spanish explorers under Elisa, Fidalgo, Quimper, Casmaño Malaspina, and notably Galiano and Valdís, examined closely the region between Puget sound and Queen Charlotte island, the last in conjunction with the English official expedition under Vancouver. The elaborate reports of these captains being more promptly published and circulated, the English gained the adoption of their nomenclature, and the chief credit for the discoveries made, which resulted in the mapping of Puget sound and the British Columbian coast, in proving that Vancouver was an island, and in showing that Bering strait was the only one that existed. To Captain Gray, of the United States trading vessel *Columbia* was, however, awarded the honor of first entering and naming the great river of this region.

The main incentive for exploration in the north-west, with the attendant claims to possession lay evidently in its fur resources, as shown by the approach of the Russians, of Mackenzie, and the different merchant vessels, which roused Spanish and English official interference. Northern Europe had presented similar attractions to the roaming Phœnicians and their successors in commercial supremacy. Among them was England, which opened ports on the White sea, and impelled the Russians to extend their search for peltry into Siberia. In America, France was the first to open this trade and to give it a hitherto unparalleled magnitude. Her fishermen sought the Newfoundland banks early in the sixteenth century, and guided by the explorations of Verrazano and Cartier they began in 1578 to venture up the St Lawrence to barter with the natives, and as pioneers to lift the veil from this Ultima Thule.

The expense connected with a profitable pursuit of

the business, and the plea of suppressing the outrages upon the natives that attended unlicensed trading, were sufficient reasons for granting it in monopoly to strong companies, which would, moreover, ensure to the crown a certain revenue, and the proper management and expansion of its colonial possessions. It was not easy to check encroachments on the part of existing traders, or of new parties, tempted by the enormous profits, and by the immunity afforded by pathless wilds adjoining foreign borders and peopled by friendly Indians. Opponents, besides, secured at times influential advocates at court, who procured frequent restrictions upon the monopoly, and occasional suppressions. The result was largely to appease such pretenders with contracts for limited districts, or with factory licenses, and to leave them free to deal with natives as they chose—a course accompanied with no little extortion and abuse, under the cover of fire-arms and fire-water. The influx and advance of traders fostered colonization, and religious zeal joined in bringing tribes into subjection, and in pioneering and protecting settlements, until a series of forts stretched from Hudson's bay down the Mississippi to the colonies inaugurated by La Salle in Louisiana. By the middle of the eighteenth century France claimed as her domain nearly all of the present British America and the United States, leaving to other European powers only narrow strips along Hudson's bay and the seaboard.

Although by no means judicious in her management of colonies and her interference with commerce, which thrives best when left to its own course, her fur trade excelled in its earlier days that of other nations, owing to the hardihood of French *coureurs des bois*, and their tact in winning favor with the savages. They adapted themselves only too readily to the habits and vagabond life of the Indians, with alternate inaction in winter and carousing in summer, and formed in their marriage ties and half-breed off-

spring fresh claims upon their sympathies. But this adaptability to circumstances did not extend to the loftier requirements of colonization, with its plodding patience and provident restraint, its exclusiveness, organization, and enterprise.

The spirit of colonization, as unfolded by the Aryans among the ancient Mediterranean trading nations, yielded during the middle ages to one of migratory conquest by less cultivated peoples; by Teutonic and Turanic hordes over civilized Rome and her semi-civilized ex-provinces in Europe, Asia, and Africa. This was due partly to the lack of suitable unoccupied tracts, and to the absence, as yet, among these invaders, of the self-restraint and cultured self-reliance required for the development of nature's resources and the building up of settlements. The discovery of America supplied the field for practical adventures, but time must elapse before men would venture upon such novel undertakings. Spanish colonization, so-called, depended largely upon the enslavement of Indians, or upon the enforced requirements of trade and mining and frontier defence. The Anglo-Saxons began with agricultural settlements, established and maintained purely by their own people.

The first permanent English colonies were formed along the coast from Massachusetts to Virginia, although not until the beginning of the seventeenth century; but once rooted they spread surely if not rapidly. Once upon the ground their keen commercial instinct quickly discovered the source of the rich traffic secured by the French, and monopolies obtained grants to the same end. The concessions were made in latitudinal strips extending indefinitely from the coast inward, there to settle upon boundary lines with earlier Gallic occupants. Henry Hudson opened at the same time the way for British trade along Greenland, and then into Hudson's bay, for which region a special company was formed. It was not long ere the two nationalities collided. The antagonism in-

stilled upon European battle-fields gave zest to the hostility here roused by conflicting interests, even among rivals of the same race. Forts were captured and retaken; expeditions were waylaid and despoiled; Indian hunters were bribed and overawed, and tribes were arrayed against tribes or as allies against the white men. The French seized upon the Ohio valley, only to be overwhelmed in Acadia, and so the advantage alternated. In 1697 all the Hudson's bay territories were conceded to France, but in 1713 several large slices along the ocean and bay were transferred to England. By 1759 the persevering Britons had massed 50,000 for the fight against 7,000 opponents, and the result was that by the treaty of 1763 France surrendered all of her North American possessions, her insular rival obtaining everything east of the Mississippi, while to Spain was granted the region west of it.

The Dutch had also shared in the fur traffic from their centre upon Hudson's river, with attendant monopoly and colonization, upon a scale which required a fleet of fifty ships. Renegades from their ranks assisted the Swedes to a portion of the lucrative business. The Puritans and Virginians, although bent on state building, joined likewise in some degree in the pursuit; but the continent south of the 49th parallel was fitted rather for settlements, which circumstance, together with the prevailing disputes, drove hunters rapidly westward to the Mississippi, and then to the Platte and Red rivers, the people of New England origin establishing forts to protect their interests against the encroaching Canadians, and opening headquarters for the trade at New Orleans and then at St Louis. Later, Independence and St Joseph becoming conspicuous, under the stimulus imparted by trade, occupation pushed onward, after independence was secured, to and beyond the Rocky mountains. It was a motley crowd, however, that inhabited these regions of Anglo-Americans, mixed

on one side with Canadian half-breeds, on the other with Spanish types, and with their attention divided by varied interests, which southward embraced the imposing Santa Fé caravan trade.

A number of the leading Frenchmen and Spaniards combined with Americans to form the Missouri Fur company, with the intention of securing the lion's share of the peltry business, especially along the Rocky mountains. Henry, one of the partners, crossed this dividing range in 1808 and built a fort on Snake river, which was maintained for only two years. The firm suffered from competition on the part of the Canadians, and ere long a more formidable rival appeared in the person of John Jacob Astor, one of the shrewdest and most enterprising of New York merchants, by whom was founded in 1809 the American Fur company, with a capital of \$1,000,000. In this was soon afterward merged the Canadian association, and when, after the war with England, foreign traders were excluded from the United States, Astor bought at his own price all British posts within the United States. Still later he acquired the interests of Ashley of Utah fame, and assumed the supremacy in the northern interior. In 1834 he sold his western interests to a St Louis firm, which had absorbed the Rocky Mountain company, and soon controlled nearly all the fur business on the Atlantic slope, as well as the Santa Fé trade. Among the connections and rivals of Ashley were Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, who, buying some of his establishments, including those in Utah and Idaho, explored westward as far as San Francisco, made the circuit through Oregon to Montana, and brought the first wagons to the Rocky mountains.

The annual rendezvous for these and other trappers was usually near the South pass of the great dividing range, where they gathered from every quarter hundreds of miles away, their numbers swelled with Indians of every grade, from the abased Shoshone and

crafty Blackfoot to the dashing Crow and the Nez Percé cavalier; with half-breeds admired by the savages by reason of a superior intelligence and appearance, but despised by others for their blood; with strutting Mexicans of pretentious air and dress little in accord with their degraded position; with half-effeminate and half-hardy *voyageurs*; and preëminent the free trapper, strong in the possession of his horse and rifle, and delighting in the roaming mountain life, yet enslaved by extravagant habits, and dependent upon or forced to enlist under more prudent and enterprising leaders.

Among the ideal trappers and mountaineers were Kit Carson, celebrated as an Indian fighter and guide to Frémont and other so called pathfinders; Jo Meek, the favorite of Oregon, where he figured in the legislature and on government commissions; and James P. Beckwourth, whose mulatto hue, keenness, and courage won for him the chieftainship of the Crows.

The regions south of Oregon were not rich in furs. California was remote, and largely absorbed by the Hudson's Bay company, which practically swept all the country northward. Hence the United States trappers found little inducement on the western slope, and confined their efforts more and more to the affluents of the Missouri, upon which Astor's successors maintained a line of forts, supplied by a special steamboat, the only one upon the upper waters till 1864. Monopoly was secured by purchasing or outbidding rivals, and revenue was increased by smuggling operations with the Red river settlers. Notwithstanding the efforts of New York and St. Louis, England remained the great emporium for peltry, and only a few shipments found their way direct to Canton, Hamburg, and other cities.

The expedition of Captain Cook had a most important influence on the occupation of the northwest coast. It brought to public notice the abundance of

sea-otters, which offer the most precious of all peltry, and the high prices paid for the skin in the Chinese markets. This was confirmed by a venture in 1780, which showed that although the Russians had long profited by the traffic, they did so at a disadvantage.

The first regular trader in the new field was the Englishman, Captain James Hanna, who in 1875-6 made a trip to the Vancouver island region from China, probably under Portugese colors, with a view to circumvent the monopoly held by the East India company against British rivals. He was followed by a number of others from Asia and England, some provided with licenses. Among them was Meares from Bengal, who wintered here in 1786-7, and built at Nootka the first vessel in these waters; he published an account of the voyage, and of the losses inflicted upon him by Spanish seizures. Portlock and Dixon arrived from England with a trading charter the same years, and on their return likewise printed a book filled with fresh information. Colnett in 1789-90 was arrested by a Spanish expedition, and Barclay sailed from Belgium under the Austrian flag. All added to geographic knowledge by communicating their discoveries. French explorers and traders, in the persons of La Pérouse and Marchand, learned enough to induce a French firm to enter the business; but the attempt proved a failure, owing to the sudden closing of Chinese ports.

Citizens of the United States were early directed to this new field for commerce by John Ledyard, who had served under Cook, and although his own efforts were unsuccessful, several firms were induced to enter it. The first to arrive in 1788 were captains Hendrick and Gray, the latter being also the first to enter the Columbia river, named after his ship, and completing on his return the first circumnavigation of the globe by a United States vessel. The English suffered here under two disadvantages, the hostility of Spain and the monopoly of the East India and

South Sea companies. The Americans were free from both, and made good use of their opportunity by opening up a trade with the Spaniards, and securing contracts for the shipment of their peltry to China. In 1792 twenty-eight vessels are known to have touched there, most of them American, and more than half of them engaged in fur-trading. The *Otter* in 1796 was the first United States vessel to anchor in California; the *Boston* was destroyed in 1803, and the crew massacred, save two, who were rescued three years later; the *Tonquin* suffered a similar fate in 1811. During the war between England and the United States, traders of both nationalities held aloof, and after its close the measures adopted by the Russian and British companies, whose agents were constantly on the spot, made such ventures too hazardous, and their visits became less frequent.

In these ventures the Americans after the first few years acquired the lead, and maintained it during the decline of the fur-trade, often with ruinous competition among themselves, though aided by other traffic on adjoining coasts. Of the vessels that arrived between 1790 and 1818 over one hundred were American, against twenty-two English, three French, and two Portuguese. The first named usually hailed from Boston, whence the distinctive appellation used by Indians to distinguish them from those of King George. In the beginning of this century they also joined with the Russians in hunting expeditions to the lower coast, shared in the carrying trade of Alaska, smuggled in California, and carried home valuable cargoes from China and the Pacific islands.

The restrictions upon English ships applied in a measure also to California, where the Spaniards neglected both the peltry and supply trade, while imposing almost absolute prohibition on foreigners. Necessity compelled officials as well as settlers to ignore the restrictive measures of Spain, and Mexico as a republic was powerless to enforce them.

Superior organization and perseverance had obtained for the British the control of the fur-trade on both slopes, against the experienced *coureurs des bois* and the cunning Yankee trappers on one side, and the nimble and unscrupulous Boston captains on the other. Their chief advantage lay, however, in the possession of the northern latitudes, which formed the fur region proper. The north-west promised, like the interior of Canada, long to remain a mere game preserve, a hunter's paradise, rugged and forbidding enough to prevent its occupation for purposes of settlement.

The control of this vast region, consisting of half a continent, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific fell in its resources and management to one great corporation, into whose hands it had come after long and fierce struggles with foreign and native rivals. This body, the Hudson's Bay company, had been chartered in 1670, under high auspices, as The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, with Prince Rupert as its governor, and a train of leading noblemen as shareholders. It was granted the privilege for two hundred years of the sole trade of Hudson strait and bay, with permanent proprietorship of Rupert land, and power to govern and to issue laws and land grants. This commercial sovereignty the company continued to enjoy for its term of two centuries, notwithstanding that the lands which they bestowed on others never belonged even to themselves, and that parliament never confirmed the charter. French parties claimed the same territory, and many a bloody battle, with alternate seizure and reprisal, took place before the men of Great Britain gained possession. These and other obstacles restricted the company's occupancy during the first century of its existence to less than 400 miles inland, and every care was taken to keep secret all resources, and to retard exploration, partly lest the discovery of a passage to the Atlantic should disturb their cher-

ished seclusion, and attract, especially French intruders. After the the cession of all North America to England, the company, relieved of its apprehensions, and with its posts increased by the transfer, hastened to widen its domain in anticipation of the rivalry threatened by their own countrymen, until the territorial limits exceeded the wildest dreams of its managers, spreading northward and westward, covering the entire width of the continent, touching at once three great oceans, and rendering hundreds of native tribes subject to its domination.

With enlarged experience, and the selection of a corps of skilful hunters and traders, operations were thoroughly systematized, and efficient service was maintained by the admission as partners of leading officials, who exercised personal supervision in enforcing discipline, economy, and strict attention to duty. The territory was in time divided into four departments: the northern, belting the frozen sea; the southern, extending from Rupert river to the Rocky mountains; the Montreal, stretching over the north-east; and the Columbia, comprising all of the Pacific domain, the latter being subsequently further divided. Aside from the governor and directors at London, there were nine grades of officials and servants, headed by a local governor for all the American establishments, and residing at a central point. Next to him were chief factors and shareholders, in charge of departments, or factories with their subordinate posts; chief traders or half shareholders usually in command of leading posts; chief clerks, in charge of expeditions or minor stations; apprenticed clerks, postmasters, promoted from the ranks; interpreters, voyageurs or boatmen; and laborers. The servants, including apprentices and officials of higher grade, were, for the most part, hardy Scotch highlanders or Orkney men, and the ranks of the voyageurs and laborers were largely recruited from French Canadians and half-breeds. The latter received on an average

THE EFFECTS OF THE 1967-68 DROUGHT ON THE GROWTH OF THE COMMON PEA (*PISUM SATIVUM*)

The effects of the 1967-68 drought on the growth of the common pea (*Pisum sativum*) were studied in a field experiment. The experiment was conducted at the University of Cambridge, England, in 1968. The results showed that the drought had a significant effect on the growth of the pea plants. The plants that were subjected to the drought showed a significant reduction in height and weight compared to the control plants. The drought also had a significant effect on the yield of the pea plants. The yield of the droughted plants was significantly lower than the yield of the control plants. The results of this experiment suggest that the 1967-68 drought had a significant effect on the growth and yield of the common pea.

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£17 a year in wages; apprentices began with a trifle, but were paid £100 or more when promoted to clerkships. Besides a general council of chief factors, local councils met annually at the principal stations to determine appointments, duties, wages, vacations, rules, and methods. Thus the company held feudal sway as absolute as that of any mediæval baron. Its capital swelled from the original £10,500 to £200,000 in 1821; then the value of the Northwest company's stock, acquired by consolidation, raised the amount to £400,000, and in 1863 it was further increased to £2,000,000. The number of employes rose from 315 in 1789 to 513 articleed men and 55 officers in 1846. In 1856 the 152 establishments employed a force of 3,000, whereof fully 200 were postmasters and other officials; one third were stationed on the Pacific slope.

Trade was conducted solely by barter, and with every conceivable class of goods that could tempt the fancy of the Indian. Arms were freely issued, but as spirituous liquors rendered quarrelsome both white men and red, and less efficient for work, they were prohibited. The price of goods was usually fixed, but under competition large commissions were made to drive away intruders.

Special trapping expeditions were despatched from the leading stations in the autumn, to return the following spring or summer; among the largest were those from Fort Vancouver to the head-waters of the Columbia and the Colorado, and into California, where latterly a tax was paid to the authorities. Their outfits were advanced on credit. Parties, composed chiefly of boatmen under a few officers, were employed to carry supplies to the posts from such central depots as Fort Vancouver, and bring back the collected peltry. This duty was largely performed by the great annual brigade which maintained communication between the Columbia and the Atlantic shipping station. The trip involved no little hardship, with rough fare and exposures, facing storms

and floods, climbing mountains while laden with heavy burdens, burrowing through snow-drifts, forcing boats up stream and guiding them through rapids where a single slip or deviation meant disaster or death. But the men were trained and hardy, brave and merry, cheerfully encountering toil and privation, banishing fear with a joke, or perchance with a sign of the cross. These brigades were greatly relieved by the direct sea shipments to and from the Columbia, whence fast vessels and latterly steamers were regularly despatched to the coast forts.

Pack trains with horses were attached to certain districts and portages, and at times two hundred animals could be seen defiling along some mountain pass, each with two packages of furs. Dog-sledges were a feature rather of the eastern slope. This traffic pertained also to the birch bark canoe, with its resined seams, for the men of the Pacific coast used the keelless board bateau, propelled by oar or paddle to the song led by the steersman, the crew joining in the chorus, and showing the effect in steadier and more powerful strokes.

United States traders usually dispensed with costly establishments, by appointing every year a rendezvous where trappers could meet them for traffic, and for recreation in the shape of carousals and boisterous games. But organizations like the Hudson's Bay company, with rich territories and regular routes, preferred the convenience and security of stations. In determining to erect a post, the resources of a district gave the incentive, while accessibility and the supply of wood and water guided the selection of a site. The term fort was applied indiscriminately to all permanent fur-trading establishments, whether a bastioned fortress of stone, as preferred during the troublous times of Anglo-French wrangling in Canada, or a square stockade, palisade, or picketed enclosure, a block-house of squared logs with apertures, or at times only a common log cabin. The posts on the

Pacific were much alike, forming usually a palisade of one hundred yards square. The pickets consisted of poles or logs sunk in the ground and rising fifteen or twenty feet above it. Sometimes split slabs were used instead of round poles. At two corners, diagonally opposite, two bastions commanded the approach, each provided with from two to six guns, and guarded with sentinels, the ground floor serving as a magazine. Within the pickets were the necessary warehouses, sheds, workshops, and dwellings; the officers' quarters and the bachelor's hall, for convivial gatherings, being conspicuous in the centre, together with the chief storehouse, while around them were dwellings for inferior employés. Near by was usually a garden patch, and sometimes a grain-field. Indian chiefs were won by special privileges and favors to curb the unruly among their tribe, and thus add to the feeling of security.

Life differed widely at the posts, from the pomp and discipline at Fort Vancouver, with its frequent visitors and well-appointed dwellings and tables, to the primitive simplicity at the log cabin with its solitary occupant, the exile of the latter rarely lasting more than a single season. At the larger stations the bell rang at dawn for the laborers to begin their toil, at eight or nine for breakfast, at one for dinner, and at six for supper when work was over. Separate tables were provided for officers, the laborers taking rations to their cabins kept by Indian wives. The arrival of important visitors, and of brigades with attendant chieftains, called for pomp and display; perhaps with salvos, grave smoking of the calumet, and speeches to propitiate some haughty savage or prepare the way for bargains. Usually trading was carried on in a special room, to which only a few natives were admitted at a time, the fort gates being closed to guard against illicit traffic and surprise.

On the Sabbath there were religious services and rest from labor, a Saturday half-holiday being de-

of the city of London, from the first settlement of the
English in this country, to the present time. The
first part of the history, from the first settlement
to the year 1600, is divided into three periods, the
first, the second, and the third. The first period
is from the first settlement to the year 1500, the
second from the year 1500 to the year 1600, and
the third from the year 1600 to the present time.
The second part of the history, from the year 1600
to the present time, is divided into two periods, the
fourth and the fifth. The fourth period is from
the year 1600 to the year 1700, and the fifth
period is from the year 1700 to the present time.

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voted to recreation. For pastime, story-telling took the lead, with smoking and perhaps a jingling of glasses. Notwithstanding the absence of luxuries and of women, feasting and dancing were not infrequent, yet the fondest anticipations were for the nights of drunkenness, which were considered inseparable from certain important occasions, and from leading festivals.

Intercourse between officer and subordinate was stamped by strict formality, and often by sternness, blows being frequently administered. Canadian habitants must, like the English laborer, remain inferior, partly owing to the absence of the selfish exclusiveness which made the Briton feared and respected by the Indians, while the Frenchmen won their sympathy and fellowship by his suavity, light-heartedness, and sociability. The last of these traits, together with a certain adaptability, made the Gaul too ready to conform to native habits, to cast aside civilization, and to become the *coureur des bois*, or forest peddler, so famed in former days, but of late degenerated into the humble voyageur or boatman. He goes hand-in-hand with the despised half-breed, in whom Aryan intelligence combines with savage cunning and instinct, yet with a lack of stamina revealed in ill-sustained efforts at agriculture and other feeble attempts at settlement. The Anglo-American wood-ranger may have become sufficiently demoralized in his intimacy with redskins, and have displayed great coarseness and brutality; yet he never became so much akin to the savage as the other. In the acute intellect and tall, spare, tough frame of the United States frontiersman united subtlety and sagacity behind features of childlike simplicity, which, when aroused, change to a look of fierce determination. While yielding to impulses, and adapting himself to circumstances, he never wholly abandons the sound sense and practical prudence of his race.

There was a strong fascination in this forest life, and once within its influence, few were content to return to the stifling atmosphere of conventionalism. Yet it was full not alone of danger, but of toil and privations, far beyond the miner's life. The latter carried with it possibilities of a fortune, while the slow and hazardous accumulations of the other could never reach even a competency, for with reckless extravagance the hunter squandered in a few nights of dissipation the earnings of an entire year. The engagement of voyageurs and trappers was consequently like hiring penniless sailors for a voyage, with advances for outfit, the discharge of debts, and the parting carouse with friends. The free trappers, who hunted singly or in small parties of their own, were often kept in debt bondage by the calculating trader.

Of the thousands who launched forth into the wilderness, not one in ten was ever heard of again. Numbers perished from hunger and exposure, from sickness or accident, from wild beasts or from the scalping knife; others discarded all connection with the past and buried themselves in the wilds. An old trader declared that after a term of three years, only forty out of two hundred who entered the wilderness would be known to have survived.

Their haven of rest or relaxation was seldom the town, but rather the annual rendezvous of the Americans, or the entrepôt fort of the companies; but respite was also afforded at the wintering ground selected by various parties, as in the bend of the Yellowstone, with its mild climate and abundance of grass and game. Here the Indian housewife would soon raise the tent of her lord, enclosing with its eight or twelve poles, covered with buffalo skins, a circle of about ten feet in diameter. Without, the men were unloading the animals, felling trees for barricades, or bringing in game for the repast. After supper the blazing camp-fire threw its ruddy glow upon the reclining group, while humorous chat, or song or story passed

the hours until the decaying embers signalled to repose.

The picturesque in nature was reflected unconsciously in the life and garb of her children. The long-haired hunter delighted in fanciful costumes and trappings, with an abundance of finery. The ordinary dress of the French and Scotch consisted of a striped or colored cotton shirt, open in front, or held loosely by a gay handkerchief, leathern, woollen, or corduroy trousers, often protected with leggings, and a blue cloth or blanket or skin capote, with a hood serving for cloak and cap, and strapped to the body by a scarlet vest, lining and fur-edging being added for warmth. The pantaloons were tied at the knee with bead gaiters. When not wearing the capote, some had woollen caps or turbans of colored handkerchiefs, while the more foppish indulged in beaver hats or coverings almost hidden under feathers, tinsel, and tassels. Ornamental moccasins covered the feet, and scarlet belts encircled the waist, holding the knife and tobacco pouch. The voyagers delighted in variegated ribbons. The American hunter preferred deer-skin trousers and an outer shirt of leather or flannel, while leather fringes, occasionally dyed, and adorned with porcupine quills, took the place of other finery.

The rifle was the main dependence for food, and the diet was therefore principally of meat, fresh or dried, varied with fish, berries, and roots. Bread, salt, and vegetables were rarities, except at larger stations. Even here rations were scant in quantity as well as variety. The staple was pemican, or dried, pulverized meat, valued for its condensed form and nourishing qualities, whether eaten raw or cooked. It was widely stored in cache, together with furs and other property not convenient to carry.

The transfer of the Franco-American possessions to England gave a stimulus to British enterprise, which was marked in 1766 by the entry of Scotch traders

in rivalry with the Hudson's Bay company, assisted by former French employés. Their starting-point was Michilimackinac, whence they spread in all directions, spurred by competition. Their success led, in 1783-4, to the formation by the more prominent, in association with Montreal merchants, of the Northwest company, which was obliged to admit several powerful opponents. Profiting by the methods adopted by the existing corporation, and by the zeal evoked under more liberal concessions to servants, the new organization was prepared to contest the field in eager rivalry. Indeed, of all fur-trading associations the Northwest company was the most audacious, and ultimately the most successful. From their headquarters at Grand Portage, on Lake Superior, they directed the shipment of supplies from England, and of furs, through the Montreal agents, who advanced the necessary capital, while the other proprietors furnished the ability and energy, and passed their time in the Indian country. Shares were sold only to servants, whose admission as partners was secured by vote, depending upon merit alone. This judicious policy raised the gross profits from £40,000 in 1788 to treble that amount within eleven years. But the risk and delay in realizing were great, and the agents were not reimbursed for their outlay for two years. The first partnership ended in 1790, with a dissension among the members, which was ended by a new coalition in 1805.

Infusing into their traffic the spirit of enterprise, they pushed adventure beyond Lake Superior into the United States, but more especially to Winnipeg, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca, overspreading finally the then unexplored northwest. They discovered the river Mackenzie, and followed it to the frozen sea; ascended Peace river; crossed the Rocky mountains, traversed the country to the Pacific, and took possession of the Northwest coast, extending southward to

the Columbia, and becoming most formidable rivals of the adventurers of England.

They ignored the charter, policy, and claims of the Hudson's Bay company, and when the latter began to build a line of forts along their path, and contest their advance by force and by outbidding them, they strained every nerve for the contest. The result was a relentless feud, carried on in some quarters with strategy and tactics, in others with ruinous competition and demoralizing liquor traffic, and in many instances with scuffles, duels, and raids, attended by the seizure of goods and burning of stations, and the enrolment of savages for bloody campaigns. The Northwest company gained the advantage, and by 1804 proposed to buy the Hudson's Bay company's interests for the face figure of the capital stock, pointing out that its charter, owing to non-fulfilled conditions, amounted only to a claim of prior possession. The offer was of course declined.

The Northwest company now hastened to occupy the Pacific slope, and in 1805 James McDougall erected a fort on McLeod lake, the first in the Northwest. In the following years several additional posts were founded in the Frazer basin, and one in 1810 upon the Spokane, and upon other branches of the Columbia, the intermediate regions being meanwhile explored by the traders, in some directions as far as the coast. This advance into the Oregon country brought them face to face with rivals from the United States.

The attention of the United States had been attracted to this coast by the reports of traders, by the enthusiastic schemes of Ledyard, and by the acquisition of Louisiana, which was vaguely assumed to extend indefinitely westward. President Jefferson was greatly impressed by the importance of the transmontane slope, and obtained congressional assent to an exploring expedition. The command was given to Captain Lewis, his private secretary, associated

with Lieutenant Clarke, with instructions to examine especially the geographic and commercial features. The party, thirty-two in number, left Pittsburg in May 1804, and after wintering among the Mandans, under protection of an escort, proceeded up the Missouri and along Jefferson and Salmon rivers, crossing thence to Lewis or Snake river. It skirted the Rocky mountains to Clarke fork, reached the junction of the last two rivers, and on November 7, 1805, sighted the Pacific at the mouth of the Columbia. Here the winter was passed in the Clatsop country, and the return safely effected in the following year, notwithstanding that they were compelled to subsist entirely on game. It was an ably conducted expedition, opening a broad field for enterprise, and rewards came in land-grants and promotions. Clarke became general of militia, and subsequently governor of Missouri, and superintendent of Indian affairs. Lewis, to whose zeal and courage was mainly due the success of the enterprise, was made governor of Louisiana, in which position he died by his own hand, while suffering from hypochondria, due partly to the strain of his arduous trip.

A striking illustration of the power of intelligence and skill inherent in the individual in certain instances, and the effect of its action, not only on the fortunes of the possessor and his family through successive generations, but upon the nation and the national domain throughout all time, may be found in that part of the early history of European occupation in our north Pacific seaboard, which relates to the founding of Astoria.

Following the voyage of Mackenzie down the Fraser river in 1793, and the government explorations of Lewis and Clarke down the Columbia in 1805, came two expeditions to the Oregon country in 1811, one by land and the other by water, both

being despatched by the same man. The whole region north of Mexico and west of the Rocky mountains was at that time in an absolute state of nature. The Franciscans had, indeed, planted a line of their missions along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco bays; there were, as we have seen, a few Russian fur-hunters in Alaska, and Scotchmen from Montreal were cautiously pioneering their way into New Caledonia from the Peace river pass, while American trappers were percolating through the mountains westward from St Louis. Further than this, throughout these vast solitudes there was not a soul who knew aught of what existed beyond his horizon, aught of Europe or the progress of mankind therein, aught of Mexico or Peru with their indigenous progress, or anything else, save what was visible to the inhabitants amid their narrow environment. North of San Francisco bay all was primeval wilderness, inhabited only by wild men and wild beasts, and the few scattered Europeans who employed the one to hunt the other.

The breaking of this stillness, and the letting in of light destined to shine with ever-increasing brilliancy, was largely due to the members of the Pacific Fur company, organized in New York by John Jacob Astor, who furnished all the capital, one million of dollars, and assumed all the risk and responsibility of the venture. The plan was to establish a line of forts between the Missouri river and the Pacific, enter into traffic with the natives, establish a post at the mouth of the Columbia, and thence send furs to China, to be exchanged for teas and silks for New York, returning with Indian supplies to Astoria.

To Wilson P. Hunt, of New Jersey, was given charge of affairs on the Pacific, Duncan McDougall being chief in his absence. With a number of Scotchmen from Montreal, formerly members of the Northwest company, and now partners in the Pacific company, McDougall sailed from New York

in the ship *Tonquin*, Jonathan Thorn, lieutenant in the United States navy, commander. The vessel reached her destination in safety, though not without loss of life. After discharging passengers and cargo, she coasted northward for furs, and was captured by the natives at Nootka sound, nearly all on board being killed. Hunt, with a party of sixty, passed up the Missouri, and descending the Columbia, joined his associates at Astoria.

The American flag was raised none too soon at Fort Astoria to secure the great Oregon country to the United States. For already the men from Montreal were hastening thither to seize the prize; but they were too late. It is safe to say that had not Mr Astor moved in this matter as he did, had his plans been frustrated or his purpose delayed, the northern boundary of the United States might to-day be the forty-second parallel of latitude. Thus we see the momentous significance of this movement, which, though resulting disastrously to the projector, was pregnant with the most beneficial results to the nation.

True, the post was lost for a time, passing into the hands of the British and the Northwest company during the war of 1812, but the final effect was the same as if possession had been continuous. I do not, of course, affirm that the founding of this fort was alone sufficient to institute a valid claim to the Columbia river country, while David Thompson and his men of the Northwest company were at the same moment trading on the head-waters of its tributaries. But in so evenly balanced a scale as that which weighed the delicate differences in the Oregon question, there is no doubt but that even a lesser fact than the establishment of Fort Astoria would have been sufficient to turn it.

And in the fulfilment of the purpose of this work, here belongs the more complete characterization of the founder of the Astor family and his successors.

John Jacob Astor, the elder, was born July 17, 1763 in the village of Waldorf, near Heidelberg, in the grand duchy of Baden. He was the youngest son of Johann Jacob Astor, a poor peasant, whose father had been in better circumstances.

The first years of his life were passed in poverty and privation, and at the age of sixteen he left his father's occupation and joined an elder brother who had settled some years before in London, and who subsequently became the head of the musical instrument warehouse of Astor & Broadwood. He set out on foot for the Rhine, and resting under a tree while still in sight of his native village, formed three resolves, to which he adhered through life—to be honest, to be industrious, and never to gamble. He worked his passage down the Rhine on a timber raft, and on arriving in London received employment at his brother's factory. Here he remained three years, acquiring the English language, and putting by some scanty savings for the time when he should be able to realize the project upon which his thoughts were fixed, of removing to America, where he had a pre-sentiment of attaining great riches. In his later period of prosperity he often referred to these years as having been among the happiest of his life. In November, 1783 he embarked at Southampton, taking a stock of flutes and other musical instruments which were to be sold at a profit. Upon arriving in New York he found his brother Henry Astor in possession of a considerable fortune, acquired by supplying at first the British garrison, and afterward the meat dealers of the city, with cattle which he bought in herds in the interior.

John Jacob Astor soon busied himself in the fur trade, to which his attention had been called by a fellow-countryman, and in which large fortunes were being amassed. He entered upon this new occupation with unremitting vigor, and at the end of ten years had diverted the most profitable markets from

his competitors, and was at the head of a business branching to Albany, Buffalo, Plattsburgh, and Detroit. Finding that London was a better market for furs than New York, he chartered a vessel, put his brother-in-law William Whetten, a ship captain, in command, sold the cargo to great advantage, and returned with Astor and Broadwood instruments, which from their excellence were held in high reputation. Taught by this experience he bought ships and engaged in the lucrative China trade, sending vessels round the world on each cruise, carrying furs to England, English manufactures to Canton, and thence returning to New York with tea. His business increased immensely, but he superintended all parts of it personally and gave attention to the minutest details. His letters of instruction to his agents were written with extraordinary comprehensiveness and accuracy. It was his maxim, "If you wish a thing done, get some one to do it for you; but if you wish it done well, do it yourself." He meditated long before acting, but a resolve once taken it was executed without hesitation.

His greatest enterprise was the settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, which is the subject of Washington Irving's volume of that name. After the famous journey of Lewis and Clarke across the continent, he dispatched traders and buyers to the Indian tribes of Oregon and Dakota and the great lakes. The British Northwest fur company opposed him to the utmost, driving away his agents and voyageurs, and claiming exclusive rights to the fur trade of the Pacific. In the face of great difficulty the station of Astoria was maintained for four years, and a treaty was signed by his agent and son-in-law Bentzon with Count Baranoff on behalf of the Russian government in Kamtchatka and Alaska. In dealing with the Indians, and in his instructions to his captains relative to their intercourse with the savages, Mr Astor was wise, humane, and liberal.

A significant corroboration to this statement is found in the conduct of Comeonly, the chief of the native Chinooks, who upon the approach of a British sloop of war in December, 1814, offered to defend Astoria with his warriors, promising to inflict a sanguinary repulse upon the enemy. But unfortunately Mr Astor had erred for once in his judgment of human nature, and had entrusted Astoria with its fort, its magazines, and its accumulation of valuable furs to the renegade Scotchman, Duncan McDougall, who, for a bribe from the British Northwest company, bade Comeonly dismiss his braves, and hoisted the Union Jack almost before he could be summoned to surrender.

In this remarkable enterprise Mr Astor was actuated less by considerations of pecuniary profit than by the zest of a vast design which had gradually developed in his mind, and which aimed at the exploration and civilization of the Pacific coast, through the medium of commerce and colonization. The magnitude of his financial relations, and the vigor and breadth of his self-trained intellect, brought him into frequent correspondence upon the establishment and maintenance of Astoria with the leading American statesmen of the time, but the government gave no further encouragement or protection than its acquiescence in projects which were evidently to be so greatly to its advantage.

At the commencement of the present century Mr Astor began investing the profits of commercial ventures in real estate upon Manhattan island, whose immense future value he was one of the first to foresee. He bought meadows and farms in the track which the growth of the city would follow, trusting to time to multiply their worth. His rise to fortune was due to none of the curious windfalls and favoring chances which are popularly associated with his early years; the first half of his life was an arduous struggle in which adversity and disappointment only

stimulated him to further self-improvement and to a broader and profounder study of the world. The practical cast of his character, and the principles of frugality and labor which his experience had instilled, made him impatient of indolence and sham and mendicancy. But he knew the value of wise benefaction, and by his will established the library which bears his name, and which his son and grandson have augmented till their united gift to the city represents a million and a half of dollars.

Mr Astor was a self-educated man, and his desire for useful information was a constant habit of the mind and marked every period of life. He delighted in the society of men of letters and accomplishments. One of his most intimate friends, dating from the days of their service as directors of the bank of the United States, was Albert Gallatin, and his frequent companion, and one who at a later period lived with him for several years, was Washington Irving. Through business relations he was interested in the chief banking institutions of the city, and in 1834, when the New York Life Insurance and Trust company was robbed by its cashier of its entire surplus, amounting to a quarter of a million, Mr Astor saved the company from an inevitable suspension, which in those days meant disgrace, by the gratuitous loan of an amount sufficient to meet its immediate needs.

After his retirement from active business in 1822 he made several visits to Europe, residing on the continent in all nearly ten years. He acquired the French language, which he learned to speak and write fluently, was presented at the court of Charles the tenth, and devoted parts of two winters to the galleries and museums of Italy; the summers abroad were passed at a villa he owned on the lake of Geneva, which he afterward gave to his son-in-law, Vincent Rumpff, then minister of the Hanseatic league at Paris.

Mr Astor's last years were spent in repose and

the first of the great principles of the American Revolution was the right of the people to alter or to abolish their government, and to institute a new one, whensoever they shall judge it necessary for their safety and happiness. This principle was the foundation of the American Republic, and it was the first principle of the American Constitution. The second principle was the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the second principle of the American Constitution. The third principle was the right of the people to be secure in their property, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the third principle of the American Constitution. The fourth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their liberty, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the fourth principle of the American Constitution. The fifth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their lives, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the fifth principle of the American Constitution. The sixth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their property, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the sixth principle of the American Constitution. The seventh principle was the right of the people to be secure in their liberty, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the seventh principle of the American Constitution. The eighth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their lives, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the eighth principle of the American Constitution. The ninth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their property, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the ninth principle of the American Constitution. The tenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their liberty, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the tenth principle of the American Constitution. The eleventh principle was the right of the people to be secure in their lives, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the eleventh principle of the American Constitution. The twelfth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their property, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the twelfth principle of the American Constitution. The thirteenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their liberty, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the thirteenth principle of the American Constitution. The fourteenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their lives, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the fourteenth principle of the American Constitution. The fifteenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their property, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the fifteenth principle of the American Constitution. The sixteenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their liberty, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the sixteenth principle of the American Constitution. The seventeenth principle was the right of the people to be secure in their lives, against the arbitrary power of the government. This principle was the foundation of the American Bill of Rights, and it was the seventeenth principle of the American Constitution. 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Wm B Astor.

retirement, in the supervision of landed interests, and in the society of a small circle of men of attainments.

His strongest trait was integrity; his private life was blameless; his chief pleasure was in the simple recreations of his country home; by the force of his influence and example he helped to give character to the society of his time.

In old age, surrounded by every luxury and looking back across an eventful career, his thoughts reverted to the home of his boyhood in the humble little village of Waldorf; and by his will he made provision for the establishment there of an asylum for the sick and infirm, which, since its creation in 1854, has alleviated suffering, and stood as a memorial of the love its founder retained to the last for his German fatherland.

William B. Astor succeeded to his father's estate at the age of fifty-six years. Born on the 19th day of September, 1792, he completed his education at the university of Göttingen in 1812-13, and during that sojourn abroad saw the departure of Napoleon's army for the invasion of Russia, and witnessed the German uprising that followed the reverses of that campaign.

In 1818, he married Margaret Rebecca, daughter of General John Armstrong, author of the Newburg letters, minister from the United States at the court of the first French empire, United States senator and secretary of war.

At the age of twenty-eight he entered his father's counting-house, in which at that time was conducted a mercantile business that encircled the globe. Between the years 1820 and 1825 these commercial ventures were reduced, and replaced by simpler and less hazardous interests. At that period New York fronted the battery, and here Mr Astor lived, passing the summer months with his family at his father's country-seat at Hell Gate. In those early days life

was without the luxuries that wealth and travel and leisure have brought, and amid the simple habits of the time Mr Astor's character was shaped in abstemious, methodical, self-reliant ways. His youth was unspoiled by the world, and he knew neither affectation nor vanity. All his life he was regular in outdoor exercise, riding on horseback until the age of seventy-five, and walking several miles daily, whatever the weather. Those who knew him only in old age—a man of iron constitution and rugged health and inflexible purpose—could with difficulty have imagined him in early manhood fond of sport, an expert fencer, taking pleasure in dancing and in ladies' society.

From thirty to the age of fifty he was personally interested in various corporations, from which he withdrew as responsibilities increased. In common with all men of his position in New York, he held aloof from public affairs, regarding the city government and the ways of politicians with aversion. His days were passed according to a fixed routine, which continued almost unchanged to the last. He rose betimes, breakfasted frugally, and devoted six hours of the day to his affairs, supervising details, directing the work of the clerks, and visiting the office of his solicitor three or four times a week. In appearance he was large and tall, of grave countenance, and kind and courtly in manner to the humblest. Under the impulse of his meditative and forecasting mind, the management of the Astor estate was moulded to a precise and undeviating system. In 1824 the office was removed from Vesey street to Prince street, where a diminutive building was erected for its accommodation. This, in 1850, was converted to a vault or strong-room, and the counting-house was transferred to the adjoining premises, No. 85, where it remained for thirty years. Here business was conducted under Mr Astor's personal supervision and that of his eldest son, John Jacob, with simplicity and directness, and in almost unbroken still-

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ness, father and son and book-keeper occupying the rear room, while in front sat a younger son, William, and two clerks. The Astors have never speculated, and the popular fancy which supposes them continually foreclosing mortgages and driving unfortunate beings to despair is groundless. Irrespective of a natural and humane indulgence for the mortgagor, to foreclose is a troublesome and costly procedure, and is resorted to only in rare and unavoidable cases. In all his affairs, which brought him in contact with many people, Mr Astor showed an invariably modest, reserved disposition, and none ever heard from him the slightest allusion to his wealth. The ruling principle of his life was a faithful discharge of every duty, and he followed it with a constancy that neither the weight of responsibility, nor the weariness of age, nor the thousand petty annoyances that attend the rich man's way, could alter.

With advancing years he withdrew from the world; his appearances in society became less frequent, and of the entertainments at his Lafayette place residence few remained but the formal New Year's day family dinner, to which all his children and grandchildren, and half a dozen particular friends, were bidden, and which were stately entertainments of an old-fashioned type.

After his wife's death, February 15, 1872, he removed to No. 372 Fifth avenue, passing the summers at his country-seat, Rokeby on the Hudson. His devotion to business continued, but otherwise he lived in great seclusion, receiving few visitors beyond an intimate circle, and devoting his leisure to the reading of French and English classical literature, which had always been his favorite relaxation. His long life ended peacefully on the 24th day of November, 1875.

John Jacob Astor, the second of the name, was born in New York, June 10, 1822. His parents were

William B. Astor, son of the founder of the family, and Margaret Rebecca, daughter and granddaughter of the Armstrongs of revolutionary honor.

After graduating from Columbia college he was sent to the university of Göttingen, where, thirty years earlier, his father had studied and formed friendships with the men who were destined to prepare the mind of Germany for national unity. When to this had been added the diploma of Harvard law school, and a year's practice with a law firm, he passed, at the age of twenty-five, to the office of the estate of John Jacob Astor.

On the 9th of December 1846 he married Charlotte Augusta Gibbes, whose father had removed from South Carolina at an early age. Their acquaintance began as children, and was, for both, a first and lifelong and unwavering attachment. To his wife he owed the example of her own high ideals, and the habitual practice of a broad and generous sympathy with all classes. Her influence sprang from the daily self-sacrifice of her life, which was exemplified when, after the first federal reverses of the civil war, she accepted without murmur his determination to serve in the field in the cause of the nation.

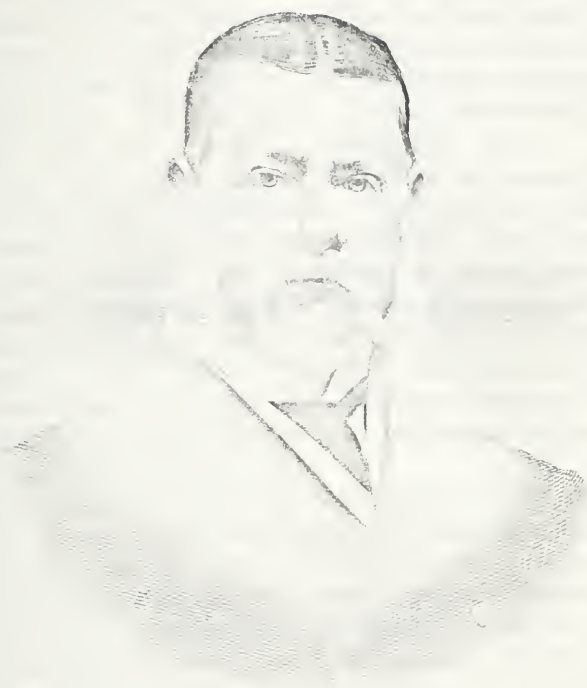
At the beginning of this century, fortunes were easily made in New York, and in many cases were still more quickly lost. A spendthrift or incompetent son wrecked in a year what the skill of the father had achieved in a lifetime. Hence the elder Astor early associated his son with him in the care of his property, interesting him in its management by a large share of responsibility, and instructing him in those wise principles by which it was to be preserved. And similarly the subject of this sketch was trained by his father, not for sordid acquisition, but in recognition of the duty the heir owes to the ancestor to maintain and enhance the fortune from which all the honors and advantages and pleasures of life are directly or indirectly derived.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

The city of Boston, situated on a neck of land between the harbor and the bay, was first settled by a small number of Englishmen in 1630. The settlement was founded by a group of Puritan ministers and laymen, who had fled from the religious persecution in England. They were led by John Winthrop, who gave the city the name of Boston in honor of the English town of Boston. The city grew rapidly, and by 1680 it had become one of the largest and most important cities in the New England colonies. It was the center of the Puritan movement, and it played a leading role in the development of the American Republic.

The city of Boston was the site of many important events in American history. It was the first city to be founded by Englishmen in North America, and it was the first city to be incorporated as a city. It was the first city to have a city government, and it was the first city to have a city seal. It was the first city to have a city library, and it was the first city to have a city hospital. It was the first city to have a city police force, and it was the first city to have a city fire department. It was the first city to have a city water supply, and it was the first city to have a city sewerage system.

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J. J. Astor

Mr Astor's natural qualities were such as made him responsive to every such appeal. An intuitive love of justice, an honest devotion to the right, a severe satisfaction in the faithful discharge of duty, underlay all the additions of reading and travel and experience. His tastes were simple, and with ripening years the serious pleasures of his youth continued to delight him. In the prime of life he possessed great vigor, and his favorite relaxations were a walk through the woods, or an afternoon in his rowboat, or a long ride on horseback. This zest for outdoor exercise developed a vivid appreciation of the beauties of rural scenery. He delighted in the blossoming expansion of spring, and in the reveries that summer fields and fleeting clouds and lengthening shadows suggest. The tints of autumn, and the sparkling vista of the river, and the eloquent silence of starlight nights spoke to him in a language he grew to understand and to love.

Few rich men bear responsibility so wisely, or walk so far above the common temptations of wealth. Of a singularly modest and unselfish character, he applied to the tasks and duties imposed by association with benevolent institutions the thoughtful earnestness that men usually give only to their personal affairs. His greatest delight—after the services of the church—was in personally assisting the very poor, and in the satisfaction of witnessing their instant relief. "Forasmuch," the Master says, "as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me."

Much of Mr Astor's career was passed in ways withdrawn from general notice, and from his predisposition to retirement, it might be inferred that he sought rather the association of familiar places than the companionship of men. The routine of methodical industry and fiduciary service was lightened by frequent visits to Europe, by the constant study of books, and by the social pleasures of a few cherished friendships. For forty years he served as a trustee

of the Astor library, and witnessed its growth from the inception of its founder's design to its successive enlargements by his father and by himself. Once only he felt tempted to enter the public service by an offer from President Hayes in December 1879 of the mission to England—a position for which his practical judgment and knowledge of society qualified him, but which his habitual modesty bade him decline.

Of all his memories of a long and active life, the one to which he reverted with the greatest satisfaction was his service in the field in 1862 with the army of the Potomac. The remembrance of the patriotic ardor of the troops, of their jubilant confidence in McClellan, of the privations of the bivouac, of the exposures and dangers of the seven days' battles, of the forlorn appearance and redoubtable qualities of the enemy—all these and many more he cherished with an interest akin to the attachment with which his thoughts ever after followed the officers who had been his companions in those stirring and memorable scenes.

Besides the respect of the community, which the example of his pure and useful life commanded, his kindly words, his cordial and unassuming manner, his keen sense of humor, his ready facility of expression, and his wide information, attached to him a group of friends who knew him well and loved him. But chiefly his loss fell upon his son, to whom, through long years of mutual confidence, he gave the teachings and experience of his life.

In his quiet library, surrounded by the volumes which, as years passed and other friends were taken, had become his favorite companions, death—swift and almost painless—touched him; and on the 22d day of February 1890, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, he left this world without regret, and with his last conscious thoughts fixed upon the better world to come.



Marlow.

William Waldorf Astor, the fourth in line, and at present head of the Astor family, was born in New York, March 31, 1848. His parents were John Jacob Astor II. and Charlotte Augusta Gibbes.

His education was chiefly directed by tutors, and was completed at home by a professor of the German university of Marburg. This early preparation was, however, the least important part of his training, its more valuable portion resulting from the companionship and influences of his home life. From his father he acquired the example of integrity which has become synonymous with the name, and the conservative principles and industrious ways that marked the earlier generations. From his mother he received an ideal conveyed in many varied lessons, to derive the utmost good from life.

He entered the office at the age of twenty-three, earlier than either his father or grandfather, and was practically taught the duties of each clerical department. Feeling his want of legal information a serious deficiency, he passed two years at Columbia College law school, and upon being admitted to the bar, served an apprenticeship of one year with the firm of Lord, Day, & Lord. His grandfather named him one of his executors, and one of the trustees of a large portion of his property to be held in trust for his sons. Upon John Jacob Astor's succeeding to the estate, he gave his son a power of attorney, putting him in his own place, and giving him absolute authority over all his property.

With the view of acquiring a broader knowledge of men and affairs than the routine of the office promised, Mr Astor served three years in the New York state legislature, where he found a valuable opportunity for the study of human nature and public business. Appointed by President Arthur to the Italian mission, he resided for three winters in Rome, a city with which early travel had already made him familiar. His official duties being inconsiderable, he

busied himself with the examination of obscure passages in Italian mediæval annals. His stories, *Valentino* and *Sforza*, are in part the result of these researches.

Mr Astor is a man of strong physique, a great lover of nature, and devoted to outdoor exercise. He rides much on horseback, fences, and in his youth was a good boxer. He is industrious, tenacious of purpose, and methodical in his ways. In 1878, he married Mary Dahlgren Paul, a Philadelphia beauty, by whom he has three children,—Waldorf, born May 19, 1879; Pauline, born September 24, 1880; and John Jacob, born May 19, 1886.

As residuary legatee, Mr Astor recently succeeded to his father's property, in the management of which he has made but few changes, and these only with the purpose of simplifying the administration of the office, which he designates the Estate of John Jacob Astor, his great-grandfather.

After the acquisition of Fort Astoria, the Northwest company, now sole potentates on the Northwest coast, hastened to make good their possession before their only formidable rival, the Hudson's Bay company, should enter in force. One measure was to repress certain Indian tribes, particularly those along the Columbia, which had taken advantage of the late competition to commit robberies and other outrages. Stolen goods were recovered by the arrest of their leaders, and their turbulent spirit was overawed by discharges of cannon, while good behavior was rewarded with presents, and honorary appointments for influential chieftains, and misconduct met with certain punishment.

The company determined to direct its efforts to trade rather than to hunting, and more by means of active operations than the mere maintenance of stations. To this end the field was divided into an interior and a coast district, the latter intrusted to

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swift vessels, which should also supply goods for California. This reorganization was effected by D. McTavish, one of the oldest partners, assisted by D. McKenzie, as manager of the interior, who subsequently became governor of the Red River colony. By 1817 the company had more than 300 Canadians in its service on this slope, and three ships for carrying supplies. Additional forts had also been established, and the plan for occupation so thoroughly systematized that there was little prospect for successful competition by the Hudson's Bay rival, although the latter had set aside a sinking-fund for carrying on the struggle in this quarter.

The Hudson's Bay company had sought to interpose a barrier in their path from the northwest by causing the establishment of the Red River colony, and so obliging them to make a wide and costly detour. But the Northwest company answered the challenge by raids with torch and sword, by cutting off supplies, and by a persistent molestation, which so exhausted and terrified the settlers as to cause their withdrawal. The justice demanded upon the aggressors was foiled by intrigue and bribery, but the investigation enforced upon the government led to mediation and compromise, by which the two companies were in 1821 united under one head, on equal terms, under the name of the older association. Each contributed £200,000 in stock, in one hundred shares, of which forty were held by active workers. The selection of twenty-five chief factors and twenty-eight chief traders was made from the servants of each, alternately.

On December 21, 1821, the government granted to the consolidation an exclusive trade license for twenty-one years over all parts of British North America not already conceded to the old company, the crown reserving the right to appoint magistrates, although the selection was naturally made among the fur-traders. Before the expiration of the term the

progress of exploration and settlements alarmed the monopoly, and it seized an opportune moment to surrender the license, in order to obtain in 1838 a renewal for another series of twenty-one years.

The Pacific slope had meanwhile entered upon a new political phase. By treaty of 1814, England offered to restore the captured forts to the United States, although it was not until four years later that the American flag was again raised over Astoria. By convention of 1818 it was further agreed that both nationalities should have unrestricted access to the Northwest coast for ten years, without prejudice to a later adjustment of title; yet it was well enough understood that the Americans intended to assert their rights as far as latitude 49° , or even $54^{\circ} 40'$, while the English aimed to secure the Columbia for their southern boundary.

Under these circumstances the British association resolved to concentrate its best resources and possessions on the northern side of the Columbia. It was also decided to select for an entrepôt a point combining agricultural and other advantages, tending in later times to assure its position as a metropolis. A more central and convenient point on the river was selected, near the head of ocean navigation, and almost opposite the great Willamette tributary. Here Fort Vancouver was founded, in 1825, and soon grew into a solid establishment, with warehouses, workshops, dwellings, and halls, enclosed within a fortified picket wall 750 feet long by 450 in width, surrounded by gardens, orchards, fields, and pastures, and supplemented in time by a village containing servants, natives, and half-breeds, the nucleus of the present flourishing town. It became the main depot for all the Pacific trading posts, sending supplies, partly by ships, but chiefly by boats, to the upper Columbia, and other points, where pack-trains made the necessary continuations.

In 1824 Fraser river, the second great canoe route of the coast, was explored from the sea, and here soon

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afterward rose Fort Langley, which in time became an entrepôt even for the upper Columbia. The intercourse between this post and Vancouver, partly overland, led to the founding of Fort Nisqually, on Puget sound, which in the following decade was made the shipping-place, owing to the dangers of the Columbia bar, marked by more than one disastrous wreck.

Agriculture had thus far been neglected under the pressure of fur-gathering, but now farmers with seed and cattle were introduced from California and the east, and furnished staple necessities, and even cargoes for export. To this end special farms were opened, notably on the Cowlitz prairie, and north of this the Puget Sound company's establishments, formed by the Hudson's Bay company's shareholders, although a distinct association.

The visit of inspection in 1828-9, repeated in 1841 by Governor Simpson, the resident American manager of the monopoly, gave rise to several additional measures. An agency was opened at the Hawaiian islands, to obtain an outlet for the surplus flour, fish, and lumber, and where might be obtained coffee, sugar, salt, and other articles. In the forties a similar branch was formed at San Francisco bay, where European goods might be exchanged for peltry, hides, tallow, and cattle, but it was closed shortly prior to the gold discovery, thus missing that rare opportunity for money-making.

Forts were gradually established along the Rocky mountains as far south as Fort Hall on Snake river, and as far north as Fort Connolly on Peace river, not counting the stations on the Mackenzie, which extended to the Arctic sea. Nearer the coast they had been carried through Oregon to Umpqua river in 1832, in the face of hostile Indians, and about the same time the Alaskan frontier was approached.

By treaty of 1825 England had agreed with Russia upon latitude 54° 40' as the dividing line, which was recognized also by the United States, and upon a

shore line northward of ten leagues, and including all that lay west of longitude 141°, British traders being allowed free admission for a decade. In 1831 Fort Simpson was founded, on Naso river, and three years later an attempt was made to pass through Russian territory, and establish a post on the Stikeen; but the Muscovites objected, and incited the Indians against the proposed intruders. The Hudson's Bay company protested, and obtained not only damages, but a ten years' lease of the shore strip, including two stations, to which two others were immediately added. The primary object was to obtain colonial trade, but the fur business itself proved more profitable than under the less energetic and methodical Russians, so much so that a renewal of the lease was procured until the sixties. This traffic was facilitated by the introduction, in 1836, of a steamer, named the *Beaver*, the first to appear in North Pacific waters. Sixteen years later the enlarged traffic demanded another vessel, and the steamer *Otter* was placed in service.

The consolidation, together with the able administration of George Simpson as general manager, and of John McLoughlin on the Pacific slope, had proved beneficial no less to the company than to the country and its inhabitants, partly by insuring order, partly by elevating the moral tone among traders and Indians, as in the restriction on liquor traffic, and the promotion of harmonious intercourse, and again by improving the financial condition of all. During the period from 1690 to 1800, the Hudson's Bay company, for instance, had been paying between sixty and seventy per cent annually in dividends on its capital of about £100,000. Then, under bitter competition with the Northwest company, as also during the struggle with France, profits fell sometimes to nothing. After 1821, with a consolidated and watered capital of £400,000, and with shares selling at over two hundred per cent premium, the dividends ranged for the most part between ten and twenty per cent, while in

1863 the subscriptions, invited in order to issue the capital stock at par, raised the nominal amount to £2,000,000. In 1846 the lands and buildings around Vancouver alone were valued at nearly \$1,000,000, and the balance sheet of the Pacific coast business showed a profit of from £25,000 to £35,000 per annum, that for the region south of the 49th parallel being only £7,000.

So far the Northwest coast had been used as a mere game preserve; but the reports of flourishing agricultural tracts from California northward, of stately forests, rich fisheries, fine harbors, and many other resources, together with a favorable climate, began to receive attention. The statements of returned trappers and captains were confirmed by such travellers and explorers as Kelley, Wyeth, Bonneville, Slacum, Farnham, and Belcher, in the thirties, and by Moiras, Wilkes, and Frémont early in the following decade. Hall J. Kelley especially had extolled the advantages of the Columbia region in the self-assumed character of its apostle, since 1827, with articles and pamphlets, lectures and congressional petitions, as well as with efforts during a period of fifteen years to establish a colony.

The government at Washington had early been impressed with the value of the fur trade, and the acquisition of Louisiana, with its undefined limits westward, had given a meaning to the vague wording of the treaty of independence concerning the northern boundary, which in 1806-7 was fixed at latitude 49 as far as the Rocky mountains. Henceforth the prolongation of this line to the Pacific, partly on the ground of contiguity, became a fixed project with the Americans. The only question was, whether it should be carried northward or at an angle. The result of the Nootka convention was to leave the coast open to foreigners. Citizens of the United States accordingly gained the privilege of first entering and

naming the Columbia river. They also made the first formal exploration of the interior of Oregon, under Lewis and Clarke, and the first settlements, under Winship and Astor. After the possession of Astoria was conceded to the United States, in 1818, England offered to accept the Columbia as a boundary; but, the former objecting, an arrangement similar to the Nootka treaty was agreed upon, namely, free admission for both to the entire coast. England gained by temporizing the profitable enjoyment of the entire game preserve, while the other hoped finally to obtain the advantage through the inevitable influx of her pioneers. In 1819 Spain transferred to the Washington authorities her title to the coast above latitude 42° , based upon an undisputed priority of discovery, and upon the formal and conceded occupation of Nootka, which was declared to surpass any claim by the British, founded on subsequent exploration and mere trading intercourse. The Nootka convention, while opening the region to the latter, left the Spanish claim intact. Now the United States vaguely extended her line to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$, which Russia accepted as her Alaskan border. During the thirties United States missionaries and settlers entered this region, though somewhat tardily, and began to urge congress to take formal possession. In the following decade the agitation rose indeed to fever heat among both nationalities, and the government at Washington early in 1846 demanded a settlement of the question. Impressed by the war feeling in the states, with the popular cry of " $54^{\circ} 40'$ or fight," England thought it best to yield the Columbia line and offer the prolongation of the eastern 49th parallel, yet with free navigation of the Columbia and possessory rights of estate held by British companies. The occupation of the country north of latitude 49° , by forts, traders, and explorers, was of a nature to secure for it a title equal to that under which the United States had been claiming Oregon. This was recog-

nized in congress, and as the straight line along the 49th parallel and the fine harbors of Puget sound were the main objects, the offer was accepted.

C. B.—I. 5

CHAPTER II.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM HISTORY—THEMISTOCLES, EPAMINONDAS, PHILIP OF MACEDON, ALEXANDER THE GREAT—SERVIUS TULLIUS, CORIOLANUS, CICERO, THE CESARS—CHRISTIANITY—CONSTANTINE—ALARIC AND ODOACER—CHARLEMAGNE—FEUDALISM—EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP—THE CRUSADES—SOME INTELLECTUAL KINGS—THE LOUIS, CHARLESSES, HENRYS, WILLIAMS, PETERS, AND GEORGES—NAPOLEON—AMERICAN TYPE OF INDIVIDUALIZED POWER—LIFE OF FREDERICK BILLINGS—CAREER IN CALIFORNIA—RAILWAY BUILDING AND FINANCIERING—BENEFACTIONS.

WE have seen that strength is with the cultured, among both individuals and nations. It is the intellect that finally dominates, not physical force. To this rule there may be exceptions arising from extraordinary strength of character, resulting in an intensity of ideas and action. Compact masses of men, coming swiftly upon nations enervated by luxury, may subjugate them, as in the case of the roaming Tartars, the marauding Goths, or the fanatic Moslems. In fighting qualities the Caucasian race occupies the front rank; in the march of material progress the practical Teuton steps in advance of the less methodical Latin race. Asia presents in its wide spaces of uniform climate favorable conditions for culture, for the restlessness and migration which constitute a primary incentive and means to progress.

It is but another illustration of the force which by motion evolves order out of chaos. Pastoral life implants a love for adventure, which finds a fostering element in the mastery and ownership of beasts of burden, and in animal food, so exciting as compared

with the sedative effect noticeable among rice-eating peoples.

East of China stretch vast plains held from time immemorial by the mercurial Tartars, who thence detached conquering hordes to assume sway over Cathay, or to swoop westward upon the occupants of Asia Minor and Europe. Near them, on the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, lies the assigned home of the Caucasian race, with its three linguistic branches of practical Aryans, who achieved the highest development; the meditative Semites, who, while less progressive, have stamped their influence on the three great monotheistic religions of the world; and the conservative Hamites, whilom tutors of the others.

Impelled by the encroachments of the nomad Tartars, they set out to seek another home. Some descended into India, about 3000 B. C., there to stagnate under an oppressive sky. As conquerors they imposed upon the people a system of castes, which entwined them in its meshes, thwarting progression. Others turned westward. The course was natural, less because the pathway of the revered sun and stars turned the eyes of devotees in this direction, as proverbs and poetic fancies teach, than because the dreaded foe and forbidding mountain ranges barred the way eastward.

Such was the beginning of the most portentous of migrations for empire. Tartar aggressiveness has been manifested not alone in such conquests as Jenghis Khan's, and Tamerlane's, which extended from the Chinese Sea into Russia, and forced peoples like the Turks to become invaders, but we behold their hordes under Attila ravage southern Europe, before they are beaten back to the confines of Hungary. Many were the refluxes of the tides. Pressed on the north and west by the Slavs, the Teutons begin to move south early in the Christian era, while the Goths erect empires in the east and west on the crumbling foundations of Rome. Suevi and others take possession of

Spain. Vandals penetrate into Africa and strike back upon Italy, repeating the blows inflicted by Carthage. The Semites swarm back from their corner in Arabia under the fanatic leadership of Mohammed, spreading their crescents from Mecca to Delhi through Media, and from Córdoba to Constantinople through Africa. The counter-movement of the crusaders, so costly in lives and treasure, proved useless, save in bringing back the seed for a revival of culture. Out of this intercourse sprang, especially in Iberia, that spirit of adventure which opened the way to new continents, and for a fresh *hegira* westward. Then another movement across the plains and ridges until we behold the full-taught Aryan, after a *wanderjahre* period of nearly fifty centuries, swarming back from the west and the east to the ancestral land. He appears no longer a barbaric fugitive, but as sovereign master and mighty magician; rivalling the thunder and lightening with his gunpowder and electricity; defying wind and wave with steam and machinery; reading the rocks with their geologic strata; wrenching fire from the sun and secrets from the stars with chemistry and lens, all laden with science and with lore.

The first fruitful halt of the white migration is exhibited in the region of the Euphrates, whose fertility encouraged dense settlement, and whose rivers and adjacent gulf facilitated intercourse with India. Khammu-Rabi rises as conqueror to lift the Chaldeans into prominence as a nation. He is also credited with introducing the system of irrigation which gave them prosperity, and fostering the pursuit of those sciences and arts wherein they excelled, such as astronomy, favored by the clear serenity of their sky. Rivals appropriate their methods and use them for their subjugation. Under Assyrian rule Babylon declines. She revives once more under the great Nebuchadnezzar, who extends her arms to the Medi-

terranean, promotes manufactures, and by virtue of her situation aids in making her the centre of trade for the circle stretching from Phœnicia to Arabia, India, and the distant mountains. The consequent accumulation of wealth breeds enervating luxury, and tempts greedy invaders to encompass her destruction.

In the Assyrians, who first absorbed Chaldea, we behold the effect of a varied environment, with mountains, plateaux, and valleys, to produce more manly traits, to rear a race of great muscular strength,—brave, enduring, and aggressive. Like the Goths they adopted the culture of these subjugated peoples, assisted by the women, who here occupied a relatively higher position. Nineveh presented this combination of culture in her fortified palaces, encircled by mud huts. The use of the arch illustrated the bold and less conventional type of the people. The practical prevailed. Military organization enabled them to acquire control over a region extending from the Mediterranean to Armenia, and beyond; and a certain proficiency in political science, sustained by innate craftiness, tended to develop civil institutions, and hold together for some time a number of loosely connected states. The central figure of their greatness was Sennacherib, the son of a usurper, whose reign constituted the golden age of this land. After him signs of dissolution appeared, to tempt Scythian and Median invasions.

The lever for supremacy in the Medes, who now step to the front, lay in their cavalry. As horsemen they surpassed all the ancients, and the spirit fostered by this mastery over the horse, with its exhilarating speed, was invigorated by mountain life, and the ruggedness of their comparatively sterile plateau. Their greatness is associated with Cyaxares, who, learning a lesson from defeat in the first invasion of Assyria, re-organized his hordes into trained troops, and achieved his aim to establish a wide empire. But the power to sustain it lay in him alone, and this became evident

as the barbaric energy of his followers, marked by cruelty and display, was sapped by luxury.

The virtues and defects of the Medes had not escaped the observant Cyrus, who as a prince of subordinate Persia was held by them in semi-captivity. His penetration and foresight perceived the opportunity not alone for liberating his country, but for supplanting them in domination by improving upon their methods. He raised Persia from a fief to a nationality, with a domain extending from the Indus to the Danube, and from the Sahara to Caucasia and Arabia. Aryans were lifted above the Semitic race. He marked an epoch by introducing the first rational system of government, and Persian statecraft is demonstrated by the consolidation and long control of so heterogeneous an empire. Darius, in reorganizing the administration, introduced satrapies, regulated taxes and established a military cordon. But the tall and agile Iranian was vivacious and witty rather than practical, and while attaining in the Orient the nearest approach to European high-type civilization, the interval remained conspicuous. The army was sustained less by organization than by the war spirit, fostered by the training of children for soldiers and horsemanship, with a precautionary majority of Persian and Median nationality. Cyrus stands preëminent among contemporary rulers for foresight and judgment, for energy and ability, for courage and humanity. He fell as he rose,—in battle. His innovations were perfected by successors like Cambyses and Darius, and the empire sustained itself in the main until Alexander came to expose its decay. Among the enervating causes were polygamy, and religious decline from monotheism to Zoroasterism, with fire-worship, attended by a degeneration of the early national frankness into servility and deceit.

Egypt was singularly endowed with a valley wherein the annual inundation of the Nile produced unfailing fertility, permitting irrigation and other

costly labor to be dispensed with, ensuring tranquil confidence in the harvests, and dispensing a refreshing coolness through evaporation. Such bounty favored wealth and leisure, which always promote civilization to a certain degree. This was a little in advance of the culture brought by Hamite immigrants from Chaldea; the influence of the river undermined vigorous self-reliance and salutary forethought, and stagnation ensued. The monotonous recurrence of natural phenomena impressed itself upon the people in listless, impassive, and saturnine traits. They fell into grooves, to which fault conquerors added the system of castes, and a rigid conventionalism assumed sway, circumscribing every effort, restricting class transition, stunting aspiration among the lowly, and shackling the free spirit and soaring imagination even in sculpture and exoteric writing—to the confusion of progress. Aided by priests and the soldiery the ruler held the people in serfdom by controlling the land which he shared with these two allies alone. The constant temptation presented in the valley resources to surrounding marauders sustained military influence. Ecclesiastic power rested upon the mysterious actions of nature,—notably the Nile inundation, which was attributed to the propitiated good-will of deities,—upon the shrewd reservation of all advanced knowledge, and upon a strict adherence to the traditional form taught by nature itself. To this observance of rule even the sovereign bends subserviently. The number and grandeur of architectural relics point to the predominance of religion, and the pyramids to confined ideas, illustrating also the serfdom without which they never could have risen. Slavish tasks deadened the recollection of lost liberty, while instilling awe for the commemorating object.

The period of pyramid building yields, under the sixth dynasty, to a spirit of conquest, during which the military rise to prominence, and emphasize it by shifting the seat of sovereignty from Memphis to

Thebes. Twenty-three centuries before the Christian era Useratesen III. appears as the earliest recorded name among really great rulers. The war spirit abates, religious supremacy revives, and Egypt is humbled under a barbaric invasion. Diplomacy steps in to regain the advantage. Ethiopia assists Theban princes to oust the usurpers. Then appears Rameses II., the greatest of Egypt's monarchs, to extend his sway to the Ganges, and to create a golden age of three centuries. Tyranny follows, marked by the exodus of the Hebrews, and dissension opens the door to foreign arms. She emerges for only brief periods from vassalage to shed under Ptolemaic rule a reflection of Greek culture, alike upon Aryans and Semites. Hamite influence is ended.

Compare with this abortiveness the effect upon near-lying Phœnicia, of a comparatively sterile soil and enforced recourse to the sea, which led to hardihood and enterprise, and to enriching trade, the best training in practical culture. Domination over the water inspired confidence for even wider expeditions,—beyond the pillars of Hercules to England and the Baltic, into the Indian ocean, even round the uttermost point of Africa, and this without compass or proper use of sails. Commerce was attended by the establishment of factories and colonies which, in order to flourish, were entrusted to competent persons who would conform to the existing institutions so as to promote harmonious intercourse, spreading by example and tempting offer of novelties the seeds of eastern culture to the advantage of all. Similar liberality of sentiment at home bound a number of petty independent states in a confederate league. Practical possession and enjoyment overshadowed political ambition and the growth of originality in the arts and sciences. Nevertheless, this uncongenial corner of Asia Minor, in pursuit of riches, did more for progress than any of the empires referred to: and foremost among its legacies ranks the invention of an alphabet.

Among its colonies need only be mentioned Carthage, which succeeded as the great maritime and commercial power, the dreaded rival of Rome. The weakness of the Quirites consisted then in lack of consolidation, yet by the simple tactics of Scipio, in carrying the war into Africa, the great advantages of Hannibal were swept away, and Carthage fell.

In the people adjoining Phœnicia we behold the effect of persecution in rousing dogged perseverance and wealth-creating energy. The priest-ridden Jews, hidden in an obscure corner of Asia Minor, without commercial prominence, oft conquered and afflicted, were finally scattered to the four quarters of the earth. Dispersion and contumely drove them to rely on wit and speculation, to stimulating intercourse which revealed to them the proscribed learning of the middle ages, and the key to trade and traffic wherein they became prominent.

In Greece a similar spirit was likewise fostered by her geographic position; sea-girt slopes and a connecting archipelago; hilly yet not sterile tracts, varied by peninsulas and bays; land and sea meeting in a struggle for supremacy, inviting man to enter and secure the advantage from both. But the multiplicity of isles and districts, separated by channels and mountains unfavorable to centralization, bred factions and local pride, fostered liberty, and led to numerous states, and to much dissension in politics. This diversity was intensified by the race distinctions of aborigines and immigrants of different periods, modified by environment, as exemplified in the fickle and vivacious Ionians, who lifted Athens to greatness in commerce and arts, and the Dorians, of severe simplicity, whose military genius raised Sparta to prominence. Here lay an emulating and inspiring variety of qualities, yet with sufficient homogeneity in language, literature and religion.

A proportionately strong individuality manifested

itself in enterprise and lofty thought. Environment fostered also courage, and an adventurous temperament which sought the expansive freedom of the sea, and turned to trade and colonization to find therein further training in self-reliance, and in the unfolding of the country's resources. An equable climate and excellent regimen produced clearness of mind. Commerce developed a subtlety and craft which in politics reached consummate intrigue; cunning was esteemed a virtue, and Greek perfidy, which made the end sanctify the means, passed into a proverb.

A blunted moral perception manifested itself in a variety of loose indulgences which, however, sprung rather from the vagaries of pampered genius than from innate debasement. Throughout all ran a jocular strain, with a happy grasp of the ridiculous, and a love of paradox and sarcasm, culminating in a display of keen wit.

Such was the race whose originality and grandeur of thought, whose elevated art and institutions, have impressed themselves as a dominating influence upon subsequent ages, by means of cherished relics, of the richest among ancient languages, and of a host of creative writers and thinkers. Oratory and philosophy found nurture in free thought and political conditions: tragedy rose out of the religious feeling, soon to yield to the natural bent for comedy; art reflected the varied beauty of its surroundings, in physique and soaring imagination, reaching here the highest ideal in plastic form. All this was based on a highly developed manhood, remarkable for symmetry of form, for agility and nervous vigor, mainly due to open air exercise. The stimulus for this and other development lay in the Olympic games, the national alma mater and bond of Hellenic unity.

Civilization here was a transplantation brought from the opposite coasts, and subsequently transmitted to a series of colonies, from the Euxine to Italy and beyond. These repaid the gift in turn with riches

and elevating intercourse, and by contributing to raise Greece by the sixth century to the foremost rank as a power. These reflex influences assisted to mould culture; but from the hitherto unsurpassed freedom of its environment was derived that special savor which gave it originality. No degrading polygamy or caste system fettered it; no grasping knowledge-monopolizing priesthood held control. Here began the first true democracy, in self-governing states, for and by the people, so that Greece formed the cradle of both intellectual and political liberty.

The first impulse to greatness may be attributed to the laws framed by Lycurgus and Solon. The former installed that soldier class, sustained by slavery and a middle caste, to which was due the greatness of Sparta as a military power. The consequent expeditions gave such prominence to the commanders as to lead here to a form of monarchy which proved an exception to the usual Greek oligarchy. At Athens all the four classes had a share in the government, yet with a preponderance in favor of the higher orders, which remained a rankling sore to the lowest and most numerous estate, despite their exemption from many imposts. The Persian invasions gave them special opportunity to press their demands, until every office being opened to them, aristocracy had to yield to a controlling democracy, stimulated by rivalry in all pursuits, and with the introduction of every imaginable artifice in politics. Pisistratus, for instance, gained popular favor and control by the trickery of wounding himself. To Themistocles is due the creation of Athens' fleet, which in the battle at Salamis saved Greece from the Iranians, and raised the state to the leadership which was sustained by the confederation of Delos. Themistocles tarnished his laurels by Persian intrigues, but his work remained to plead for him, and his policy as continued by Pericles brought Athens to the pinnacle of her glory, in her golden age, when art reached perfection, and numerous colo-

nies and conquests in Asia and Europe brought territorial importance and wealth.

Then came internal wars to undermine the states. Jealous of her maritime rival, Sparta stooped to a Persian alliance to humble her. While the two giants were thus struggling, little Thebes stepped to the front, and with the new military tactics of Epaminondas, of attacking in column instead of line, was enabled for a time to assume the mastery. Trained by this general, Philip of Macedon employed the method for his own and his country's advancement; and then, availing himself of Hellenic dissension, he turned it for acquiring supremacy also here. This called the Greeks to their only remaining bulwark, unity, and with the aid of different leagues, semi-independence was sustained a while, until mighty Rome dealt the final blow. Henceforth the peninsula figures only as a province, for about 2,000 years, ravaged by stern masters and marked by Slav immigration. Yet her soil remained the classic ground which nourished the teachers of Europe, which provided the models in literature, science, and art for the Roman culture, and subsequently for the revival of learning, and which still looms forth in her relics of fine arts and letters, in her history, as the type for ennobling aspirations.

Macedonia's career was but a rocket flight, due to the innovations of a great leader. The military phalanx of Alexander the Great, directed by a genius, burst upon the old-fashioned systems like an avalanche, shattering army after army, and bringing the world to his feet. It shook Asia from its lethargy, to receive the influence of Greek art and learning; and when the conquest crumbled, Hellenic ideas and language widely remained, a compensating relic, sustained by trade and intercourse. Alexander was not a mere soldier, as shown by the founding of his great shore city in Egypt, the natural centre for trade in this quarter, and whence the Ptolemies shed the lustre of a new Greek culture, marked by the Alexandrian li-

brary and by glorious scientific developments. With such energy as his, which successfully resisted an insidious Oriental luxury, other great enterprises might have been started in Asia, but for the premature death of the hero, and the consequent dissolution of his empire. One feature of Seleucus' portion of the spoils was the rise of Antioch to a sovereign city in southwestern Asia. The days of Babylon were numbered.

Pursuing the westward march of empire, we come to another sea-girt land, the Apennine boot, whose heel planted itself upon a conquered world. Rising midway in the Mediterranean, between the great east and the rising west, it lay guarded on three sides by water, and on the north by a bulwark of Alps. Tribal diversity added a heaven which was sustained by varied scenery and climate, from temperate to semitropic, with an intricate network of mountains enclosing numerous small valleys and plains. The inspiring beauty of the sky, subject to sudden spells of storms and heavy rains, seemed reflected in the paroxysmal character of the people. Yet theirs was not the fickle disposition of the Greek, but the passions of indomitable men, as depicted in their strongly marked features. They ate and drank with the fervor of a vigorous constitution, gluttony prevailing over delicacy. Their jest was loud and their sport bloody. They preferred farce to neatly woven comedy or stately tragedy. Art was copied, learning transplanted, and religion adopted, all subordinate to worldly considerations, which prompted, indeed, three phases of worship before paganism was replaced by christianity. The priest was an officer under the government, and prayer rose from groups in standing attitude. The Roman was a soldier, who scorned the artfulness bred by trade and subterfuge, and whose frankness appeared in the boastful vanity based on conscious strength and great achievements, and fed by limitless ambition. His morality partook of the same superior stamp, in

upholding honor and pledged faith in public and private life, exalting home and motherhood. His development was muscular rather than nervous. While lacking in the acute perception, wit, and ideality of the Athenian, he possessed originality and invention, and connected with the highest intellectual attainment the practical sense which could appreciate and adopt the best contrivances, and could foster and unfold resources, material and mental. Yet all must be subservient to the greatness of the state; and so he loved war, with Mars for his chief deity, and courage for a leading virtue. He conquered like a barbarian, but ruled like a statesman. He learned how to circumvent the phalanx and the camp, and he knew how to retain the advantage by able law-giving and administration. But the bent for authority brought, among other evils, slavery, a poison which in due time infected the nation and race, and hastened the decline of both. This deterioration became visible also in the land, where devastated forests, neglected drainage, and other causes have resulted in the depopulation of large tracts by aridity and inundation.

Rome sprang out of blood and robbery, but practical sense and a spirit of order soon produced reforms under laws adapted to changing conditions, and in this pliability lay the strength and stability of its government. Roman individuality was merged in the state, in which vested all prerogatives, not as under feudalism where personal rights and importance received the first consideration. Witness the stern abnegation of men like the elder Brutus, who condemned his children for conspiracy; the Horatius, who single-handed defended the bridge against an army; Coriolanus, who sacrificed success to filial devotion; Cincinnatus, the farmer-general, who so unselfishly wielded the dictatorship. Such were the noble leaders who impressed their qualities upon the nation. Allies and dependents were not irritated by pressure from existing institutions, but won by liberal concessions in self-govern-

ment. The Roman people, so long restricted to the tribes on the Tiber and to kindred races abroad, reserved for themselves certain sovereign rights, with the collection of taxes, which were farmed out by censors, and the supervision of which was intrusted to military governors and their staff from Rome. At home, this growing power and attendant wealth produced an ever-increasing strife for position and party control, with attendant sale of votes and other venality. Idleness and luxury led to effeminacy and social corruption. Conquest increased slavery, until long before the Christian era the slaves outnumbered by seven millions the five millions of free inhabitants in Italy. The stigma cast by their intrusion in most occupations drove out the peasant farmers and middle classes, which formed the national mainstay, separated society more widely into rich and poor, and changed the race itself by infusing into it their preponderating mixture of Asiatic and other foreign blood.

The preceding review indicates the struggle between the aristocracy and the people, which here acquired a greater virulence than in Greece. The former early gained the upper hand, but Servius Tullius yielded the plebeians a share in the government, ample enough to enable them to expel Tarquinius for his subsequent attempt at curtailment, and to gradually enforce additional concessions. The obnoxious enslavement under the debt law was modified: tribunes were ordained to guard plebeian rights; the assembly of the tribes was made equal with the other legislative body; all offices were opened to citizens; land holdings were reduced so as to allow of a large distribution among the lower classes.

Notwithstanding party struggles, all stood united for the interests of the state. A Gallic invasion showed the importance of consolidation. Italy was first brought under the sway of Rome, and toward the close of the third century, B. C., her arms crossed the Alps, then conquered Spain. The Punic wars

taught maritime methods. The prolonged invasion of Hannibal was favored by the still incompleting control over Italian allies, but Scipio's manœuvre in carrying the war into Africa compelled the Carthaginian leader to abandon his advantage, and follow to fight under less auspicious conditions. Carthage was humbled, and finally destroyed, after serving, by the lessons she taught, as a stepping stone for her rival. The fall of this great commercial and colonizing power checked the spread of civilization, and promoted thereby the extension of military sway by the Quirites. Now, with fleets and trained armies, their path of conquest extended eastward over the Greek peoples, into Asia, and westward into Gaul.

The diversion of the poorer citizens into these absorbing pursuits had given opportunity to the aristocratic elements to regain some of their lapsed privileges. The opposition was roused to counter-efforts. The Gracchi revived for them the land limitation: they succeeded in electing Marius to the consulship, and through him wider admission into the legions was obtained for the lower classes. Sulla endeavored to reverse this gain, only to evoke a civil struggle, whence emerged four parties, two aristocratic, one of military adventurers, and the Marian or popular faction. The military or Catiline clique was overthrown by Cicero; the rest coalesced into a triumvirate, through the manœuvres of Cæsar, who had won the support of the people. By skilfully ingratiating himself with the Gauls and Germans during his administration there, he was enabled to overrule his opponents, and make himself dictator at Rome. The efforts of Brutus and other stanch patriots to save the republic were in vain. Corruption had undermined the system of popular rule, and factions were daily becoming more numerous and reckless, threatening to embroil the provinces in perpetual civil war, productive of anarchy.

The time had come for the concentration of power

in one strong hand to avert disorders, perhaps dissolution. Although less fitted than the great Cæsar for this task, Octavius found the path prepared for him, and, favored by circumstances, his calculating prudence enabled him to erect an imperial throne. This was not accomplished without considerable bloodshed, which secured to him his inherited possessions; but the great body of the people recognized the value of restraint in so heterogeneous an empire. The result justified their belief: for under Augustus blossomed the golden age of Rome, embracing all the more glorious features of the adopted and transformed Greco-oriental culture. Yet among a hundred millions of subjects one half languished in slavery, while a vast standing army had to be maintained, to hold in check provinces extending from the Caspian sea and Arabia along northern Africa and Iberia into Great Britain and Germany.

The army now fell back from its former position as a means for conquest, to that of custodian and prop for the empire. With less duty and booty to occupy them, the soldiers found leisure to weigh their own power and importance; and this struck more forcibly that select body, the pretorian guard, to whose care Italy and Rome were entrusted. Their ascendancy soon made them the power behind the throne, and the electors of its occupant. Plots, bribery, and favoritism predominated by turns, and infamous and weak rulers assumed the sceptre, to be deposed or braved at a distance by the usurpers proclaimed by different sections of the army. Rome lost her predominating voice, the more so as the provincial origin of most emperors induced them to reside abroad, and extend citizenship first over Italy and subsequently to all free inhabitants in the empire. This served in a measure to tighten the bond between the dependencies, to which conduced also the latinization of so large a proportion of them, notably the crescent region extending through Gaul into Spain, where blossomed the

Romance languages. But Romans, permeated by luxury and corruption, disappeared in the vortex of race mingling and provincial strife for the mastery.

A division of the government between two emperors, in the east and west, was followed by the transfer of the supreme seat, by Constantine, to the Bosphorus. Rome sank into subordination, although restored in some degree by becoming the capital of the western empire. The split favored the irruptions preparing in the north. The Goths had learnt the art of warfare in the Roman service, and acquired an insight into its weaker points, and into the allurements collected in and around the capitals. Pressed by the Tartars pouring in through Hungary, they were permitted to settle on the south side of the Danube. Broken agreements and maltreatment roused them against the empire. They overran Turkey, and finally under Alaric took Rome itself. Odoacer supplanted the last Roman emperor as first king of Italy.

The beginning of the millenary middle ages is marked by the assumption of preëminence on the part of the Teutonic races, commingling with the Celts, while the Greco-Latin mixture subsides to the second rank. In course of time an important element appears in the Slavs, bearing in their name the stamp of oppression. The Visigoths, who overthrew the western empire, are soon pressed aside by the Ostrogoths, entering from below the Danube, and confined to southern France and Spain, where they displaced the earlier invasion of Alanes, Suevi, and Vandals, the latter crossing into Africa to revive for a time in barbaric form the Carthaginian state. The Franks pour into Gaul, subduing the Burgundians who had preceded them; the Angles and Saxons spread from Denmark into England, and from the same region are traced also the Longobards, whose conquering advance southward stands commemorated in northern Italy.

The irruption of the Teutons and the attendant

wars and devastations, the overthrow of states and institutions, the check to agriculture and other industries, and to elevating intercourse, have a depressing and retrograde effect on culture; and this proves the more prolonged and blighting, owing to the barbaric condition of the invaders. Before finding opportunity to acquire learning and esteem its advantages, they become converts to christianity.

In its leading doctrine of redemption from sin, this religion advocated reform and humility, and upheld faith as the supreme and, indeed, only requirement for the realization of life's aim. It upheld asceticism, which in commending poverty and ignorance, raised a bar to progress. These teachings were impressed upon its adherents during long persecutions, and the antagonism to polytheists in whom centered all learning, partly as the base for their revised dogmas, served in itself to stamp classic knowledge as iniquitous and dangerous, at least to the masses. The simple-minded Teutons received these injunctions with ready grace, and even took pride in despising education. Add to this the engrafted superstitious rites and beliefs which enslaved the mind, and the generally accepted prophecy of the end of the world within a thousand years from the birth of Christ, a belief destructive to the desire for improvement and progress.

A formidable obstacle to education rose, moreover, in the corruption of the Latin into the several Romance languages, under the intermingling and inflection, especially of Gothic and Celtic dialects. In these languages few books were written; and although classic Latin was retained both by ecclesiastics and officials, yet the limitation of its readers to so narrow a circle tended of course to discourage literary effort even in them. The dearth of fresh material served in a measure to regain favor for the abjured classics, by obliging the few studiously inclined to seek recourse here. For the masses, however, this intel-

lectual storehouse remained closed by virtue of the linguistic transformation, and these hindrances which discouraged them from learning to write, were augmented by the cost and scarcity of writing material. Ignorance fostered superstition, as marked by the ordeal trials, belief in witchcraft, and practice of mummerly. This era has therefore been called, not inappropriately, the dark age. It was a chrysalid period, for the maturing and merging of the Celtic, Latin, and Teutonic elements, preparatory to the material and intellectual revival to come in due time.

While christianity served to restrict knowledge, it must be credited with preserving it from destruction. The natural guardians should have been the towns, as the nuclei for culture; but the Teutons, little used to large, compact municipalities, discountenanced their formation—another cause for the dark age. This important charge devolved therefore on the clergy, whose professional instincts for oratory, display of learning, and fondness for argument prompted them to a certain range of reading. The storehouses of learning became the cloister, that improvement upon the ancient hermitage of St. Benedict, for the practice in association of the Christian virtues. The monks illustrated to perfection the import of the inculcated humility of their religion, in every feature of their life. While lowly, they were nevertheless exalted, swaying prince and peasant, flock and nation, by sanctity or learning, wisdom or superstition. These knights of the peace were forced either by the dullness of isolation and leisure, or by the duty of preparing for their labors in the pulpit, the confessional, or the schoolroom, to dip into lore and accumulate books; and fortunately for their preservation the monasteries were sacred from the marauders who infected the middle ages, forming oases of peace and culture in the desert of ignorance and disorder. The eastern empire, hemmed in by rebellious Orientals and barbaric Ostrogoths, also cradled learning for the revival

which the fanatic Tartars were destined to awaken.

There were men even among the Teutons, who recognizing the abasement, sought, although in vain, to start the revival. Heroic in mind as in stature, Charlemagne had inherited the warlike traits of his grandfather, the Martel, who put a limit to Saracenic invasions in the west, and the dominating instincts of Pepin, who wrested the sceptre from the imbecile line of Clovis. He planned the restoration of the Roman empire, and achieved it with the aid of cohesive christianity and Teutonism. He placed a check on Scythic ingression, reduced pagan Germany, and sought to instil a thirst for instruction. With his death the fabric crumbled; for under his grandsons the empire was divided between France and Germany, the latter claiming the imperial title. The time for revival was not yet ripe.

The middle age had to pass through the ordeal of feudalism, its most characteristic phase, founded on causes common to both, on lack of unity and order, on neglect of education and advancement. The Teutons were barbarians, with little taste as yet for settled association; for the migratory habits revealed in the recent irruptions and conquest movements still lingered within them. They were strongly imbued with a sense of personal independence, and an inclination for tribal relations, centering in the military leaders. Subordination, even to the latter, had been forced upon them by incessant conflict and intercourse with adjoining nationalities, and their love for independence revolted at the additional restraint of imperial consolidation. They clustered therefore in sullen murmur round their tribal chiefs, now transformed into dukes, counts, barons, and other grades, and the feeble and ridiculous figures cut by so many of the rulers before and after Charlemagne, intensified this feeling while encouraging the ambitious aim of the lords. The prospective cosmic catastrophe tended further to dissolve common interests.

The feudal system rose out of barbaric conquest; out of the distribution of lands acquired by invasion and granted for the prosecution of war. Every free participant in a campaign received his *allodium*, or independent share, the chiefs and prelates securing for their influence large tracts; others received a *fendum*, or grant, conditional on services to be rendered; and in course of time both classes of holdings were parceled out in more or less small feudal lots to relations and to new generations, to retainers and immigrants, in return for tribute or service, usually military. The prevailing disorder made weaker independent owners glad to exchange their position for vassalage, in order to gain the protection of the stronger. Thus the land fell into comparatively few hands, the mightiest being usually the king, to whom most lords tendered a certain homage, including such men as William the Conqueror, of Normandy, vassal of the French king. The lords demanded obedience from their lordlings or village magnates, and these from farmer tenants, who in their turn controlled directly the great mass of landless serfs, bound to the land, to till and toil, or to render obedience as servants or soldiers. Circles within circles of gradually ascending hereditary domination formed a cluster of confederate powers. The king, while upheld by the jealousy and rivalry among the lords as a medium for maintaining a balance of power, could effect little against any combination among them, particularly as even the feudal holders of his own terrain controlled the soldiers upon whom he must rely. It was a system well suited to the lawless disposition of the still undisciplined Teutons.

The dissolution of Charlemagne's empire illustrated the strength of feudalism, and the frailty of the throne was marked by the title of electors, arrogated to themselves by the dukes, who claimed power to install one of their choice. In Gaul, Capet, duke of Franceia, cut short the Carolingian dynasty, and in assuming the sceptre the name of his duchy was applied to the

kingdom. The weakness of disunion had encouraged the inroads of Norsemen, the later influx of Teutonic conquest migration. They had to be appeased with the concession of Normandy, subject to the king. The subsequent conquest by the Norman duke of England, which became his seat, subordinating Normandy to a province, brought about the long conflict and animosity between the two powers. In Spain, the lack of consolidation had also favored the invasion of the Mohammedans. These, splitting in their turn into petty sovereignties, gave the opportunity for the Christians to regain the lost ground. The German control over Italy, as part of the western empire, led here to the additional evil of bitter party strife between the Ghibellines, or imperialists, and the Guelphs, or nationalists, who sought liberation from foreign rule.

The reaction from this state of affairs gradually acquired strength. The power centralized in the sovereign naturally sought to assert and extend itself, endeavoring to win for this purpose the support of the people and church, as opposed, like itself, to the grasping ambition and insolence of the nobles. For this came opportunities, as in the alliance of family and other interests, in popular revolts and foreign wars, in all of which the principles of Machiavelli were frequently applied with success. The church was concerned in sustaining centralized power; partly for religious and humane reasons, in the brotherhood of man, and the prevention of schisms: partly for political purposes, to secure its own control, and to keep in due subordination the numerous fiefs pertaining to prelates and orders.

The struggle between the people and the barons was marked by confiscation, and more or less systematic robbery. The towns, as the centre of industries and trade, long suffered the most glaring exactions, despite the fostering auspices of lords interested in their success. Finally, they resolved upon self-protection, by combining forces, as instanced notably in

the Lombard and Hanseatic leagues, the former embracing powerful city republics, like Venice, Florence, and Genoa, the other controlling especially the Baltic and North Sea shores, and embracing some four score of towns. They were the asylums of freedom, the cradle of the middle class, which soon grew strong enough to check feudalism, and then to restrain autocrats. Their prosperity and power assisted in themselves to elevate hitherto despised castes, while in their trade and intercourse, with attendant enterprise and colonization, lay the germ of education, and of material and intellectual advancement.

One more factor for the undermining of feudalism appeared in the crusades. For their origin we must revert to the Semitic movements in Asia, and their influence upon the Aryans. The former stand credited with originating the loftiest and greatest religious ideas, but the Aryans are not without their share in these conceptions, since in Brahmanism, and especially in Buddhism, lies the most exalted of creeds, which, soaring beyond the mere personal deity adopted by less speculative minds, expands into a grand pantheism. This faith found no time to take root among the restless, practical peoples that moved beyond India westward, to be moulded in different environments. Adhering to the primitive Aryan sabeism, they allowed it to unfold under varying natural phenomena, Euhemerism and other influences, into the polytheism which christianity undertook to supplant. It was left to the contemplative Semitic race to lift itself above this corrupt diffusion, if not to the highest philosophic realms, to the noble simplicity of personal monotheism, and to infuse it into the gradually awakening reflections of the Aryans.

Christianity fitly issued from a monotheistic people. Polytheism had been gradually undermined by philosophic discussion, and through the politic concessions and adoptions by Rome, to gain favor at first for her early weakness, and subsequently for her empire. This

led to periodic modifications, which could not fail to shake the faith even of the multitude. While Rome was tolerant with the conquered, the respect imposed upon them for its own belief and its sovereignty, and the semi-worship exacted for its emperors, served to weaken inherited piety and regard for native traditions, and to sanction inquiry into sacred things. In the east, Buddhism greatly extended the influence of its lofty teachings through caravan intercourse to the confines of Europe. The sublime idea of divine revelation, as proclaimed by the apostles, fitly supplemented the many expectations growing out of the old Hebrew prophecies pointing to a Messiah. The simplicity of the Christian creed, together with the beautiful doctrine of creation, the rumor of miracles, the inflexible zeal of its adherents, fostered by the discipline and unity of the early church, and enhanced by the impressive purity and charity of life and thought, especially among women, under the impulse of perpetual struggles against inherited sin—all these were among the causes for its success. Not the least was the brotherhood in the church and of nations, and equality before God, and prospective social elevation, to be followed by future blissful rewards, dependent not on costly offerings, but on faith and conduct; doctrines which attracted especially the great compassless masses, the poor and oppressed, the enslaved and unhappy, who suffered under the innumerable iniquities of the powerful, the glaring ostentation of the rich, and the corruption of the rulers.

The peaceful golden age inaugurated by Augustus in a consolidated empire, with the attendant tolerance, freedom of intercourse, and spread of culture, favored the incipient propagation of religion, as did the subsequent persecution, due to the fears roused by the inconsiderate abuse of idolatry and corrupt administrators, and by talk of a prospective Christian kingdom. Maltreatment was sanctioned by the growing dislike to the Hebrews, and by the sporadic character of the

new faith, devoid of national standing. But christianity soon became strong enough to exact concessions, to win the rulers by desirability of alliance, and to become the state religion under Constantine, when one twentieth of his subjects professed it. Thenceforth its spread was rapid, being aided by soldiers as well as missionaries, for conquerors found it a good pretext for invasion; and a valuable means for securing submission.

The doctrines and successes of christianity did not escape the observation of reflective men even beyond its actual reach. In distant Arabia another Semitic people had nursed the worship of one supreme being. In course of time their system became engrafted with a number of sub-deities more approachable by mortals as mediators with the sovereign of all. This corruption had penetrated into social life, and by its abnormalities roused reformers. The most conspicuous were the Hanîfs, notably at Medina, who practised purified rites directed to Allah alone, confiding in a final judgment to reward their devotion. It required merely another step to improve upon these tenets with the suggestions presented in their midst, and near the border by Jews, by Sabians, and particularly by the anchorites of Syria. Mohammed's travels as a trader had afforded him the necessary insight and means to prepare himself for the new rôle of reformer. Revelations and other appeals to superstition did their share. Nearly all the intrinsic virtues favoring christianity, as miracles, purity of life, simplicity of doctrines, zeal, brotherhood, future rewards, were introduced, to attract without the obstructing mediation of redeemer or priest. Compromises with hostile sects opened additional avenues. Soon religion became chiefly the auxiliary of a commonwealth; the mosque a drilling ground for soldiers; charity turned into tithes and then into taxes; fanaticism readily ignited the fiery cavaliers of nomadic Arabia, and every campaign added followers and subjects. Suc-

cess bred success. Yet the elevating features of the creed, as manifested in its early Saracenic career, reached a certain altitude, especially after the blighting ascendancy of the Osmanli; while christianity, similarly overshadowed from infancy, in time cast off its shackles to attain the loftiest culture. Race triumphed over both religions.

Within a century the Saracens had overrun Asia from the Mediterranean to India, and were penetrating beyond Constantinople into Europe, seeking to join the link of conquest by advancing through northern Africa into Spain. The Arabs were not illiberal, despite their fanaticism, and tribute was accepted, as for instance in India. Subsequently, with the intermingling of Turks, pressing westward from central Asia, a less tolerant spirit obtained. Deep as well as fashionable piety had intensified the desire to worship at the tomb of the Savior, and Christian pilgrims poured gold into Mohammedan purses; but fanaticism soon overcame prudence and exposed them to persecution.

This state of affairs was hinted abroad in Europe to the indignation of devotees, hot with the youth of conversion. It needed but a spark to fire them, and that was struck by Peter the Hermit, from whose fervent zeal sprang the inspiration that he was destined to rescue the holy sepulchre. The pope sustained the zealot, and sanctified enlistment by conferring the badge of the red cross, bright with the hope of salvation from being engaged in so laudable an enterprise. The unsettled and warlike condition of Europe, under the then prevailing feudalism, was favorable to any migratory movement or campaign, so that no trouble was experienced in mustering fanatics for the first crusade in 1096. The advance body was a mere blinded rabble, including women and children, so unprovided as to be obliged to ravage friendly territories for food, and so undisciplined and badly armed as to allow themselves to be mowed down like grass by

exasperated Christians and hostile Turks. The main body of feudal chiefs with mailed chivalry was fought by the astute foe with the aid of nature in devastated lands. Only a fragment under Godfrey escaped hunger, thirst, and scimitars, to found a feeble kingdom in Palestine. The second crusade was headed by a king and an emperor, and the third by three crowned heads, without achieving even so much as the first. After this, corruption permeated the good cause. The fourth expedition overthrew the Greek empire to establish a Latin kingdom. The fifth obtained a temporary recession of Jerusalem, and in the seventh and eighth St Louis sacrificed himself in the vain effort to sustain the compact.

The direct aim of the crusades was practically a failure, but the incidental and collateral benefits proved inestimable. The fanaticism which had prompted them worked itself out during foreign intercourse and experience, to be further reduced at home by the germs of culture, brought back from the so-called barbaric Saracens, who shamed the Christian knights by their superior chivalry and their patronage of letters and arts. The preparations and traffic attendant on these vast movements served to give an invigorating impulse to manufactures and other industries; to call forth merchant fleets in the seaboard states for carrying troops and supplies: to develop commerce and elevating intercourse, and to make European nations acquainted with the luxuries and treasures of the Orient; to promote great harmony and communication between the western nations, and to strengthen the church and state at the expense of feudalism.

The increase of sovereign power for curbing lawlessness, and promoting order and security, was indispensable to industrial and intellectual development. The protection which the Lombard league of cities assured for itself served to build up here alone a number of opulent centres, notably the republic of Venice, which rose to a great maritime power and

colonizer, and of Florence, wherein the Medici opened a glorious era as patrons of art and literature. In the north the Hanseatic cities contented themselves with more practical gains, which nevertheless served to diffuse an elevating refinement.

Silk culture was introduced into Italy in the middle of the twelfth century, serving to encourage many another enterprise. Chimneys and window glass began to appear soon after, to render houses more attractive, and thereby to exert a vast influence for improving the character, habits, and social condition in general of the race. By infusing a growing taste for wider comforts, energy was stimulated to the greater production of wealth, and thus were fostered trade, industries, and education. Luxury spread so fast, indeed, as to call forth restrictive sumptuary laws.

The enervation of luxury applies in many directions, as in sapping the vigor of warlike races, like the Medes, in the oppression of lower classes and the spread of slavery, which reduces the middle class and creates a dangerous under-stratum as in Rome: and in several of the causes leading to the decline of the once mighty Spain. On the other hand luxury stimulates the energy to procure it, and fosters material comfort and the highest phases of civilization. France led in luxurious habits during the reign of Louis XIV., yet she held all Europe at bay. These indulgences brought about the terrible revolution under Louis XVI., yet during its throes she sprang to the height of her ambition. In England the luxury attending the great accumulation of riches has not prevented her from attaining rank among the first military powers. Luxury, therefore, is objectionable only when it becomes predominant.

A marked effect of intercourse with the Saracens was observed in education. Córdoba, and other seats of Arabic learning attracted pilgrims, and gave impulse to the founding of universities in different parts of Europe. The rise here of scholastic philosophy,

while tending to develop acuteness, retarded the expansion of thought and studies, and overshadowed even the experiments of such men as Bacon and Albertus. The crusades produced the troubadours and mime-singers, who stirred the people with their recital of noble deeds and brilliant exploits, and promoted the publication of works in their vernacular, thus opening the way for the instruction of the masses, from whom learning had hitherto been locked up by the exclusive Latin race. Moorish architecture, with its minarets, arches, and tracery, gave suggestions for the Gothic style, the most sublime expression of religious aspiration. It was the first inspiring step toward a revival of arts and free and lofty thought.

Declining feudalism presented a relieving feature in the institution of chivalry, which during the crusades unfolded into ennobling proportions. Rising out of the innate Teutonic gallantry to women, it was elevated by the predilection of leading men for the profession of arms. Their training as sons of vassals, at the castle of the lords, embraced the management of weapons and the steed, the practice of etiquette as pages to the ladies, while intercourse with knights inculcated lofty ideas of honor, of justice, of commiseration for the oppressed. The tendency was to sustain the prevalent war spirit, with ideas too exalted and fictitious, but also to soften its harsh features, and to infuse a tone of refinement into the approaching revival.

Such were the dominating influences during the middle ages which had to yield before the modern era. This dates from the introduction of several important inventions, notably gunpowder, the compass, and printing-press, which revolutionized political and social conditions, and promoted the revival of enterprise and learning, its germs being traced to the crusades, with their stirring intercourse. It was also signalized by the overthrow of the remnant of ancient European

greatness, in the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, with the aid of cannon, then becoming known, and by the discovery of a new continent, the stimulus and field for colossal undertakings, for trade and colonization.

Gunpowder revolutionized military tactics, sweeping away the advantages of mailed knights and walled castles, at a single blow, reducing the power of the nobility and feudal barons, and transferring it to the people and the sovereign, thus promoting centralization. This was an indispensable retrogression, a temporary fettering of freedom in order to secure among the masses the education, self-reliance, and self-government necessary for a later rational enjoyment of liberty. True, rulers sought to retain the control longer than necessary, using standing armies for their own aggrandizement, and sturdy efforts were required to effect the change.

The Mohammedan element in Spain had by its hostility stirred among the mountaineers a warlike and adventurous disposition, which under the flush of success, in the fifteenth century, broke beyond the narrow confines of the peninsula, and sought upon the sea a wider field. Prince Henry of Portugal led the Iberians in this new enterprise. By perfecting the use of the compass for navigation, he opened the hitherto fearful highways of the ocean, and enabled Columbus to discover America, Magellan to circumnavigate the globe, and Vasco da Gama to penetrate by way of Cape Good Hope to the Indies, and to transfer their rich trade from Venice and other Mediterranean entrepôts to Portugal, from which the more enterprising Holland, and subsequently England, wrested the prize. Navies multiplied under the consequent encouragement to migration, colonization, and trade; manufactures responded to the growth of fresh and wider resources; the middle classes made a stride to the front for domination, sustaining their position by the energy and prosperity which enriched their states.

A still greater medium for general advancement and the uplifting of the masses appeared in the printing-press. While repelled by France in the west, the Mohammedans continued their advance from the east under the more barbaric Ottoman leadership, and bore the crescent from Greece to Constantinople. Thus fell the last relic of the eastern empire, and the revived Roman sister state might also have succumbed but for the staunch rescue of Vienna by Sobieski. The invasion drove Greek savants and artists westward, there to influence the revival of arts and learning, and the invention of printing. The main feature herein being the movable types of Gutenberg, he must be recognized as the one who struck the great blow at ignorance, presenting at the same time the incentive and means for the entire liberation of learning.

One important phase of the intellectual emancipation appeared in the Reformation. The fall of the western empire had lifted into prominence the bishop of the state church, as the only one who possessed influence alike over the natives and the conquering Goths. Religion was the bond which held together the shattered elements of old nationality, and the fermenting admixture of new races. The Franks were induced to aid in granting temporal power to the popes, and the subsequent rallying round them of the anti-Germanic party in Italy increased their influence. Gregory VII. added still more to it by reserving for the church the investiture of ecclesiastical officers, and by compelling Emperor Henry to humble himself to the dust for venturing to dissent. Excommunication was the power which swayed the sceptre henceforth raised above every catholic monarch by the king of kings at Rome. He worked upon the superstition of the masses by means of the confessional, and other rites, wielded by priests and friars, who were attached to the church more closely than ever by enforced celibacy and other renunciations of worldly ties, and by exemption from civil jurisdiction. He maintained an

additional and deeper espionage by means of the Jesuit order, and held a terrifying weapon in the Inquisition to check free thought and crush dissent. The seclusion of learning within the Latin language, and its universality, widened the field for the church, as did the spreading conversion north and west, and in the new world, while the rival Greek body was curtailed by Mohammedan encroachments. Every fresh accession meant also increased legacies, particularly in land, for enrichment and power; and Rome herself reaped a rich harvest from the pilgrimage, which turned from the long journey to Jerusalem to confirm the ancient pagan city as the sacred Christian capital. The dissensions created by feudalism helped to win the weakened sovereigns to an alliance with the church, which like themselves favored a gradual centralization of control, as less favorable to sectarianism. The crusades served to strengthen it by intensifying religious zeal, although their final effect was largely reactionary.

With fanaticism cooled came reflection. Through the clearing mist of superstition could be seen the errors and corruption of the church, accumulated since its rise from purifying privations to affluence and power, and exposed by the more or less loud demonstrations of Albigenses, Wycliffites, and Hussites, during unseemly quarrels between priests and rulers or between rival popes, and by the merciless harshness of Christian prelates. Inquiry was hushed, but not suppressed. Erasmus desired neither rash revolution nor coercion of the mind. He appealed to reason, and advocated enlightenment for reaching a loftier level of morality and faith. The new-born press helped to spread his views, and to rouse thought and raise leaders for the movement to be started by the igniting spark, the sale of indulgences, to which the Austin friars, notably Luther, took exceptions. Many princes favored the outcry against an institution which drained their states of much-needed money, and sought to meddle in their administration. Even Charles V. was at first luke-

warm on this account; but, as the tendency of the age inclined to brute force, or arms, and the princes formed a league for defence, the emperor was moved by policy to crush it. Political reasons likewise induced France to rise and prevent a schism, and secure tolerance. Chagrined by repulse, Charles retired to a convent to mourn over the failure of his hopes, as the champion of an already faded middle age.

The church was obliged to yield to the tempest, in the shape of certain reforms, and in stirring to renewed zeal its adherents, such as the Jesuits with their stealthy prying, their subtle intrigue, their striving, as the hidden power behind the throne, to rule the king as well as his subjects. Thus it moulded to its ends the fanatical Ferdinand of Austria, and induced him to attempt, a century later, to win back the lost ground in Germany. Wallenstein and Tilly, indeed, carried all before them; but one greater than they stepped forward to turn the scale once more, and bring into momentary fame a peninsula which had lain in obscurity since the Viking era. Inspired by religious zeal and French money, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden enforced a favorable treaty in behalf of German protestants at the price of his life. Flushed with success his generals protracted the struggle in conjunction with France, and closed the thirty years' war only after exacting heavy territorial compensation, notably Pomerania on one side and Alsace on the other, both to become the source of future strife. The people paid dearly for thus heedlessly inviting foreign champions, and the emperor suffered for his folly by receiving back his realm in the shape of an impoverished and lax confederacy.

The disunion gave opportunity for the rise of a rival destined soon to eclipse Austria. Prussia was built up by the Great Elector; and in the army and treasure gathered by a prudent father, Frederick the Great found a means for his ambition to lift the state to the front rank of European powers. The achieve-

ment was costly, the seven years' war alone involving the loss of a million men, though securing military and territorial aggrandizement. Frederick gained the fame not merely of a great captain, but of a wise ruler, who repaired the ravages of war by fostering measures beneficial to industries.

The struggle for free thought extended through the north and west of Europe, where proximity to the sea stimulated enterprise and love of liberty. The Netherlands held the lead as a manufacturing region, and were fast wresting the rich India trade from Portugal. The attendant energy and enlightenment gave ready access to protestant ideas, to the alarm of Philip II., who cherished this section as his special patrimony, and abhorred a schism which might lead it away from his beloved church and from Spain. The stanch little people rallied round William of Orange, and sustained themselves for thirty-seven years against the onslaught of the armies of Spain, fanatical and cruel as their master, and established the free Dutch Republic, richer than ever, with greater colonies and the finest of navies. In these two lay the chief source of their endurance as well as of their recuperation.

In England, Phœnician intercourse and Roman occupation had left many a promising germ. Then came the mingling of races, of Britons with Anglo-Saxons, who assumed the predominance in thought and language, and were leavened with the more pronounced Scandinavian blood of Danish conquerors, and with Gallicized Norsemen, who sought to impose on them their Norman officials and their language. Out of this medley emerged the English nation, wherein the hardihood and self-reliance of the islander were combined with the prudence and conservatism which distinguish the race. She asserted her right to freedom in the thirteenth century, by forcing from the king the magna charta, and establishing popular representation and a house of commons. In such a soil protestantism

could not fail to win adherents, yet its rapid advance was indebted rather to the wounded vanity and caprice of the profligate but vigorous and able Henry VIII. He turned the tables so far upon the unyielding pope as to persecute the church and confiscate its wealth; and in order to obtain a strong servant for his plans, he invested parliament with powers which it subsequently learned to wield to better advantage.

Thus trained and endowed, England unfolded in the Elizabethan age into a first class nation, a leader in daring achievements and enterprise, in industrial and intellectual might. By quibbling at Elizabeth's claim to the throne, the pope converted a ready friend into a foe, who gave the finishing blow to his influence in Britian. The same policy in Spain led to the armada expedition against England, which in its disastrous ending engulfed the greatness of Iberia, and helped to liberate Holland and lift Albion into prominence. Catholicism obtained a certain satisfaction in the sectarian disruptions which led to the persecution of the Puritans, and finally to the liberation of the United States.

The tact and talent of the Tudors made endurable a despotism which the people, imbued by them with their own vigorous spirit, resented in the succeeding line of the Stuarts, opened by James I., "the wisest fool in Europe." Blindly intent on the divine right of kings, Charles I. paid with his life the penalty for resisting the spirit of the age, which demanded constitutional government. The people displayed their daring and self-reliance alike during the Commonwealth, by victorious campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, against the Dutch and the Spaniards, and during the reign of the frivolous Charles II. by developing arts and industries. The obstinacy of James II. in seeking to restore the catholic religion exhausted their patience, and the Stuarts lost the throne. They desired self-rule, under the emulative and progressive

management of popular parties, each bidding for fame and favor by wise and prudent measures and reforms, or by brilliant military and political undertakings. The sovereign must here be content to act merely as a figure-head, as a medium for balancing political elements, and obviating dangerous aspirations. In this aspect the licentious, foolish, and incompetent Georges were not only endurable but useful, despite their nonentity. England advanced to greatness under the leadership of statesmen like Walpole, Pitt, and Palmerston, Beaconsfield and Gladstone, the first aiming for political aggrandizement, the last for internal prosperity and popular rights, such as the disestablishment of an obnoxious state church in Ireland, the extension of the franchise and more liberal land laws. Abolition of slavery and adoption of the ballot figure among the progressive enactments of this the greatest of trading nations, and one unsurpassed for wealth and territorial possessions.

The union of Germany and Spain under Charles V. led to an aggressive policy on the part of France for preserving the balance of power, and to an alliance with protestant princes, while native Huguenots were freely persecuted. The latter rose several times to arms during the sixteenth century, but were finally relieved by the edict of Nantes. The fostering measures of Henry IV. and Sully secured the material development which permitted Richelieu to lift France to the first place in Europe, especially by the military achievements of the thirty years' war which humbled her great rival. His patronage of arts and letters bore fruit during the brilliant age of Louis XIV., the type of a monarch if not of a good ruler; a man who knew how to choose ministers like Mazarin and Colbert, but whose imprudent ambition frittered away in useless wars most of the results of their beneficent plans for advancing industries, trade, and colonization. Another rash proceeding was the renewed persecution of the Huguenots, which forced half a million of them

to emigrate, and carry their arts and industries to rival nations. This despotism gave, moreover, a servile stamp to manners, language, literary style and thought, wherein France now became the accepted standard for the world.

Her supremacy was sustained by the long array of great names headed by Descartes, Pascal, and Montaigne; Corneille, Molière, and Racine; Rabelais, La Fontaine, Boileau, Fénelon, and Bossuet, by the side of which adjoining nations have placed Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton; Bacon, Hobbes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz; Shakespeare, Cervantes, Ariosto, Tasso, Camoens, and Milton. This list in the eighteenth century was made imposing by the names of Kant, Adams, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Lessing, Gibbon, and Schiller; Linnæus, Buffon, Priestley, Galvani, Herschel, Lavoisier, and Laplace; Watt, Fulton, Brindley, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Jacquard, all of whom exercise a wide influence upon intellectual and material development.

The increase of manufactures, and other industries, commerce and colonization, the spread of education, the liberation of thought by such means as the victorious reformation, the opening of new fields in America and elsewhere, for enterprise and enjoyment of freedom, and the multiplication of inventions, were phases of progress which benefited especially the middle and lower classes, bringing ever nearer to their reach the escape from oppression, poverty, and ignorance, and the opportunity for acquiring wealth and knowledge. With growing self-reliance came the sense of their own real importance, collectively at least, as measured by the number and the theoretic rather than practical ability of the clique surrounding the throne, which absorbed all the offices and secured all control. In order to assure their own ambitious purposes against the formidable feudalism, monarchs had purchased the support of the masses by exemptions and privileges, and the devotion of stand-

ing armies and body-guards by liberal treatment ; but once secure from fear, natural sympathy and common interests inclined them again toward a bridled nobility, whose aid was now sought to restrain the increased aspirations of the people. With similar interests for suppressing the masses, the church made cause with royalty, hedging it with divine sanction, while the nobles supported themselves with primogeniture and entail.

The consequent antagonism between the people and the throne, with its adherents, was fostered especially in France by socialistic and infidel writers like Rousseau and Voltaire, and their host of followers and imitators. Their utterances found emphasis in the distress caused by the long and useless wars of Louis XIV., the chief burden of which fell upon the masses, who possessed only one third of the soil while the nobility and clergy, owning the two thirds, were exempt from taxes and other exactions. The iniquity became the more glaring in consequence of the profligacy and extravagance of the court, and the ignorance and dissolute conduct of the clergy itself.

These lessons, however, did not take effect here until the example had been set in a far distant region. America had been settled by a selection of hardy adventurers from all quarters, and by religious and political refugees of Teutonic blood, chiefly of the independent English stock, who bore with them a hatred of tyranny. Freedom, energy, and self-reliance were fostered by life in the backwoods, struggling with nature and the hostile aborigines, and self-government of a republican type was forced upon them, to be intensified by the arrogance of the king's officials, and the ridicule cast upon royalty by the character of the Georges. As the free-spoken colonists revealed the bent of their thought, the alarmed administration had recourse to repressive measures, which served only to embitter the people and hasten the outburst. Eager to weaken her powerful neighbor,

France fed the flame, and tendered assistance toward the liberation of the colony, and the formation of the United States republic, an inspiring model for numerous imitators, a beacon light for democratic ideas.

Now the lesson came home to France, and the opportunity to practise it quickly arrived. Financial distress compelled an appeal to the long ignored people, whose representatives formed half of the summoned states-general meeting. Aware of their importance in this emergency, they assumed a tone of independence, whereat the nobles and clergy caviled, sustained by the king. The commons resolutely proceeded to open a national assembly, and to prepare a constitution which should remove the existing inequality and injustice. Encouraged by a large secession from the opposite ranks, they proclaimed not alone equalization of taxes, together with a consolidation of the debt, but freedom of the press and religion, and the abolition of political privileges derived from birth. The government was evidently impotent to enforce any objection; yet the mere rumor of troops approaching roused the triumphant populace to arms. The fall of the Bastile, and the raising of the democratic tricolor at Paris, became the signal for a general revolution. The nobles fled, shorn of class distinction and possessions, and the still recalcitrant monarch was made a captive.

The controlling element was still inclined to moderation, and in favor of a constitutional monarchy; but the proposed interference of the German powers in behalf of imperilled royalty, ignited the popular fury. The red republican element in the assembly gained the upper hand, and the reign of terror inaugurated a republic, which was baptized in the royal blood of France. The excesses of the Saturnalia roused the fears which led to reaction resulting in a new constitution. And now, purified through the excitement, the people turned their strength and courage to uphold the honor of the regenerated nation. Ap-

prehensive of the effect of the revolution abroad, more rulers joined the coalition against the republic; but with the additional stimulus of freedom and unrestricted promotion for bravery and skill, the French armies triumphed, and achieved a profitable peace.

Here was the opportunity for genius to assert itself, and there was matchless genius present. Napoleon had given a signal proof of military ability as commander of the third army corps in Italy, which secured the chief glories of 1797, and his subsequent victories in Egypt exalted him into a popular idol. Aware of this, and confident of himself, he perceived that by boldly joining in the scramble for power then taking place among aspiring directors at Paris, his chances for success looked promising. To this conclusion, moreover, he was driven by the final turn of his Egyptian operations. He must seek a new field wherein to retrieve himself before his laurels faded, and there was none so attractive as Paris. The control of the armies was at once given to the returning hero, and thus armed he undertook to reorganize the constitution and government, assuming dictatorial powers. After dazzling the people with further achievements, he availed himself of a critical moment to lift himself to an imperial throne.

The chief cause of his extraordinary success may be ascribed to that feature in his brilliant military tactics which, in its improvement upon Macedonian and Roman methods, aimed to concentrate the strength of the army against some particular point of the enemy's line, and by breaking it, to create confusion. To this he added an unusual rapidity of movement. In his first campaign as consul he shrewdly detached Russia from the alliance with England and Austria, and disconcerting the latter by his tactics won an easy victory. After parading at Vienna, he crushed the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, broke up the German empire, and sought to ensure its dismemberment by erecting the confederacy of the Rhine,

and by flattering Bavaria and Württemberg with the regal dignity also bestowed upon his brothers. Prussia was likewise laid in the dust. England escaped, owing to her insular position and to her navy, which destroyed the French fleet intended to carry across the invaders. For one more effort to cast off the yoke, the Austrian emperor had to do penance with the hand of his daughter.

At the opening of the second decade of the century, Napoleon stood at the summit of his grandeur, his imperial dignity consecrated by marriage with an ancient imperial family, and with the world at his feet. Unrivalled as a military leader, he had given evidence also of statesmanship. Out of the disorders of the revolution he had reared an efficient government, marked by admirable reforms, and fostering measures which gave impulse to industries and trade, education and arts. The Code Napoleon still serves as a model for rising nations; the bank of France stands a monument to his ministration; the legion of honor yet stirs the nation on to glorious deeds. His assumption of despotic power was a step backward for the nation, but a salutary lesson in some respects, as it gave time for the necessary reforms and institutions to take root, and better prepare the people for self-government under the republic. His was a brilliant rule for France, which, however, like himself, had to pay dearly for overreaching ambition and excess. Even the turmoil, devastation, and slaughter inflicted upon Europe were not without their benefit, rousing the land as they did from lethargy to activity and progress.

As in the case of Charles XII. of Sweden, Russia invoked the elements to turn his victories into disasters, to dim the lustre of his star. The allies had learned some of his military methods, and at Leipzig and Waterloo they used against him his own tactics. Their success confirmed for a time the enslavement of the people, but the wave of progress closes round them.

The dawning spirit of democracy in France asserted itself by deposing Charles X. for attempting to play the autocrat. The subsequent administration was practically republican, and it was chiefly the cherished prestige enfolding the Napoleonic name that made the nation once more accept, under the illusive synonym of peace, an empire, which was by no means so inglorious as its ending, for the country gained honors in the Crimean and Italian campaigns, and flourished internally, but the source of its great prosperity must be traced to the revolution.

In Russia, the beneficence of a firm, despotic rulership was signally illustrated under Peter the Great, the imperial genius who raised his country from barbarism and insignificance to a first-class power. Himself thirsting for knowledge, he impressed upon his people, by force, the lessons acquired in social, administrative, and military reforms. He gave them a fleet and a capital, fostered manufactures and trade, reduced the nobles, raised the masses, favored tolerance, and encouraged enterprise. Hemmed in by the Tartars, Poles, and Swedes, he opened a way to the Black sea, extended his domains westward, and plucking victory from the defeats inflicted by Charles XII., partly by shrewd recourse to natural elements, he gained a foothold along the Baltic. It was left to women to successfully carry on the work begun by this true father of his country, and in particular to perpetuate his policy of territorial aggrandizement, until Russia became the greatest of compact empires. Her military and colonial bonds are stretching wider, despite all the efforts of her apprehensive neighbors. They forget not that she extinguished a nation in the partition of Poland, and aims to quench the lingering flame of Ottoman power. The elevation of her people has lately been marked by such acts as the liberation of the serfs, and now they are struggling for a share in a government absorbed by hereditary autocracy.

The war of 1854-5, undertaken in behalf of that

political principle, balance of power, served as a lever for Italian unification, promoted also by the selfish policy of France. The ideas implanted since the time of Napoleon, and agitated by Victor Emmanuel, found a vigorous exponent in Garibaldi, who joined anew the fragments of Apennine nationality shattered by the fall of the western empire. A judicious alliance with Prussia in 1866, and a seizure of opportunity during the Franco-Prussian war, perfected the consolidation.

The humiliation of Austria by Napoleon, and the consequent lapse of her Teutonic empire into a confederation, was a reconstruction by which the people managed to obtain an increased share of the political rights brought before them by the revolutions in America and France. The gradual efforts of the princes to regain the ceded privileges led to the outbreak of 1848, which obliged them to retract in many directions. The declining influence of Austria encouraged Prussia to intrigue for the leadership in Germany, and under the astute guidance of Bismarck, supplemented by the military genius of Moltke, she succeeded in vanquishing her rival. The Zollverein and other measures, and the war with France, served to bind closer the confederacy, and to permit the revival of the German empire, although in a more liberal federal form, and without its old Roman adjunct. The success centred once more in new military tactics, sustained by the discipline and firmness of a highly-educated soldiery.

• Coming to our own time and country for a personal embodiment of national power and progress, we shall rarely find a more perfect type than Frederick Billings, in whom were united, in a remarkable degree, the three primary principles of progressive force, underlying all the highest and purest forms of civilization, namely: intellectual power, moral power, and the power of wealth. As society is organized, and



Frederick Billings

social development sustained and encouraged, we find the example here presented the highest type of manhood—the moral and intellectual force each springing from and aiding the other; and the financial, following under a just and proper subordination to the others, as the reward of well-doing. An ideal and standard of this kind is refreshing indeed, both to the biographer and to the reader: that of a man in whom integrity is the most conspicuous characteristic; who, while endowed with the highest intellectual ability, has ever been foremost in moral and religious influence, in philanthropy, in pure citizenship and pure statesmanship, and an apostle no less of literature and art than of education and religion.

“Measured by every standard, he was a great man, and in the years that are to come, no brighter name will adorn the roll of this society than that of Frederick Billings.” Such was the tribute paid by the society of California pioneers to one who, though for many years a non-resident, ever cherished the fondest recollections for the state in which first he won repute, and by whose citizens he was held in most affectionate remembrance.

Commencing life without other advantages than a good education, a sound constitution, and the noble qualities inherited from his parents, almost from the day when he landed as one of the argonauts, one of the youngest of the argonauts, on these western shores, he was recognized as among the foremost of legal practitioners, the trusted counsellor of those whom the people trusted, on whom they looked as the leaders of men and as the head of their affairs.

Returning in the prime of manhood to his New England home, he ranked among the railroad princes of the land, with the Vanderbilts, with Ames, with Huntington, and Villard. But it is as a man, rather than as a lawyer and railroad artificer, and above all as a Christian man, that the name of Frederick Billings has become a household word, not only in the

land of his nativity, not only in what he had once resolved was to be the land of his adoption, but throughout the wide realm that reaches from the new world metropolis westward to the city of the Golden Gate.

Far back in the days of the Plantagenets, when the third Henry sat on the throne of England, was entered in the Domesday book the name of Bellinge, or as originally written, Billing, a word meaning in the Saxon vernacular "a place by the meadows." From the family estate was derived its name, and a goodly estate it was—one of the fairest spots in the fair county of Northampton, but a few miles distant from its county-seat and from time almost immemorial of historic interest.

In the sixth year of Henry III—that is, in 1221—was levied between Sarah, the daughter of Warine Falconer, demandant, and Henry de Billing and Wimar his wife, deforciant, a fine of a moiety of three virgates of land in Rushden, Northamptonshire, where also Henry held from William, earl of Ferrars, a sixth of one knight's fee. And now for more than two centuries there is a gap in the family annals, until, about 1460, we find that one John Billing was also the owner of lands in Rushden, and a patron of the church of Colly-Weston. About the same date his eldest son, Sir Thomas, was knighted for true and loyal service rendered the Lancastrian party in the wars of the roses, appearing in 1466 at the bar of the house of lords as leading counsel for Henry VI. Later he was law adviser in chief to Edward IV, and in 1465 was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench. His death in 1481 was caused by apoplexy; and to this day may be seen at Wappenham church the marble slab on which his figure was graven, transferred to this Northamptonshire parish from the abbey of Bittlesden, where his remains were laid at rest. Still also in Wappenham parish stands his ancient manor house, now occupied by a thrifty yeoman of the shire. To this manor, with its surrounding

estates, succeeded his eldest son, Thomas, who, dying in 1508, left his four daughters as co-heiresses, by whose marriage the land passed into other families.

Six more generations, and we come to William Billing, the first one of the race who came to the western world, disposing of his lands at Taunton about the middle of the seventeenth century, and removing thence to Massachusetts, where he was one of the original owners of the site on which was built the town of Lancaster. In 1658 we find him at Dorchester, where he married, becoming later one of the largest landed proprietors in Stonington, Connecticut, and several neighboring towns. In New London his grandson Samuel purchased and laid out as a separate town a certain tract of land belonging to the Mohegans. In 1781, when New London was burned by the British, under command of the traitor Benedict Arnold, Samuel was one of those who came to its defense, and who perished in the massacre that followed. His name is one of those inscribed on a marble slab in the monument by which the event was commemorated. His youngest son, John, was in early life a seafaring man, voyaging from New London to the West Indies; and in 1775 joined the continental army, settling later in Vermont, where, at Royalton, he ended his days, in August 1832. Oel, the eighth of his eleven children, was a merchant of Royalton, where Frederick Billings, his third son, was born on the 27th day of September, 1823. His wife, Sophia Wetherbe, was the daughter of Jason Wetherbe, of Charlestown, New Hampshire, whose father served with distinction as a captain in the revolutionary war; her mother being the daughter of Captain Farwell, one of the heroes of Bunker hill. Among her ancestors was John Wetherbe, one of the earliest settlers of Marlborough, Massachusetts, and a soldier in King Philip's war.

In the order of their birth the names of Oel's children were Edward Horatio, a lawyer and law

partner of Oliver P. Chandler, of Woodstock, Vermont; Laura, who died in San Francisco a few days after her arrival of Panamá fever, contracted while detained at the Isthmus; Charles Jason, a banker of Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Frederick, the subject of our biography; Sophia Farwell, who married a Massachusetts representative in congress; Franklin Noble, a Woodstock merchant; Richard Oel, a civil engineer who met his death from an accident in 1852; Elizabeth Sprague; and Oliver Phelps Chandler, a lawyer and a graduate of the university of Vermont.

In 1835, the family moved to Woodstock. Here Frederick commenced his education at the public school, completing it at the Kimball academy in Meriden, N. H., and at the university of Vermont, where he graduated in the class of 1844. Among his fellow-students were many who afterwards became prominent in professional and political circles: such men as Bishop Howe of South Carolina, and William Collamer of Woodstock. An apt and brilliant scholar, he was a favorite alike with classmates and professors, and made for himself a host of friends.

Said the president of the university, rendering his tribute of respect, in his funeral address: "He was not only largely gifted, but most happily gifted with those diverse and related gifts which at once enhance and supplement each other, and together make a man whom other men can at once admire and love. Entering college some years after he had graduated, I found his fame still fresh in college tradition; the fame of his scholarship, his oratory, his popularity, his intellectual and social leadership. Of the great men of those times—and no American college then had greater—Wheeler and Marsh, and Torrey and Benedict, youthful as he was, he was almost as much the companion as the pupil. Everybody who knew him in those early days foresaw his brilliant career. What direction it would take no one knew. It would not have surprised anyone to have it prophesied of

him that he would be a leading advocate, or an eminent statesman, a preacher of commanding influence, a literary celebrity, or what he actually became, a magnate in the world of business; but that somewhere, in whatever field he might occupy himself, he would be a king of men everyone foreknew."

His course at college ended, Mr Billings began to prepare for his chosen profession of the law, entering the office of O. P. Chandler at Woodstock, and in 1848 was admitted to the bar. Meanwhile he had been appointed civil and military secretary to Governor Horace Eaton, serving in that capacity during his two years' term of office.

But it was not in Vermont that he was destined to make his mark as a lawyer, though doubtless he would have made it, had he selected his native state as the sphere of his professional labors. California was the land in which his lot was to be cast, and in the bar of that state he became one of the ablest members.

It was in the spring of 1849 that Mr Billings landed in California. At that time wealth and preferment awaited the successful lawyer in San Francisco, and Mr Billings was one of those men who could not fail of success. Immediately on his arrival he opened an office in Portsmouth square, and after practising for a time alone formed a partnership with Archibald C. Peachy, under the firm name of Peachy and Billings. From the first Mr Billings ranked foremost among the practitioners of the metropolis, not as a court lawyer, nor indeed as an office lawyer, for he avoided all the drudgery of his profession, but as the legal adviser of men of business where important interests were involved. Of the estimation in which he was held no better proof can be given than his appointment as counsellor to General Riley, and as attorney-general to the department of which he was in charge. Captain Henry W. Halleck, who in later years, as commander-in-chief

of the union forces, played so prominent a part in the drama of the rebellion, was then the military secretary of California, and with him Mr Billings also formed a partnership, and what proved to be a life-long friendship. Soon afterward Trenor W. Park was admitted, and for many years Halleck, Peachy, Billings, and Park were recognized as the leading firm in San Francisco. When I add that this combination was further strengthened by the services of Oscar L. Shaffer, it is no wonder that their business assumed enormous proportions, was by far the largest and most lucrative in a city famous for its legal talent no less than for its costly and protracted litigation.

The necessity of a substantial and fire-proof building for offices was now imperative, and determined the firm to build, at a cost of \$400,000, Montgomery block, which was for years one of the finest, and certainly the most famous structure west of the Mississippi. Here, as to-day, were the chambers of many a leader of the bar, and of more who aspired to be leaders; here were afterward the headquarters of the San Francisco Stock exchange; and here, on the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets, yet stands the well-known Bank exchange of historic fame.

Of the many leading cases in which Mr Billings' firm were engaged I will mention only one, famous in the legal annals of California, involving as it did the title to the Almaden quicksilver mine, with two square leagues of adjoining land. After the cession of California to the United States, a commission was appointed to adjust unsettled land claims, whereupon the discoverer of the mine filed a petition asking that his claim be confirmed. The property was valued at several million dollars; and that it was not overvalued was sufficiently proved by the output of the mine, exceeding for a number of years that of any quicksilver deposit in the world. Through the efforts

of Mr Billings and his associates, who appeared as counsel for the petitioners, the title to the mine was confirmed by the commission, but denied to the land. With this decision neither party was satisfied, and an appeal being taken to the United States district court, one of those legal contests ensued which have since become historic. But with the further history of the case we are not concerned. Rather let us hear the opinion of others as to Mr Billings' professional career, and the standing of his firm in the community. From the report of the society of California pioneers, already mentioned, I extract the following:

"In his profession as an advisor and counsellor he stood among the first. He was as thoroughly read as any young lawyer ever admitted to the bar of the state; but the drudgery of the profession is not learned from text books, and the business that crowded upon him as counsellor, almost from the day he put out his modest sign, prevented him from becoming a lawyer especially skilled in the minor details of his calling. The times were flush and fees were large. One client, a company, paid the firm \$30,000 a year as a retainer. On the other hand, personal expenses reached from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a month. These were truly the days of old, the days of gold, the days of '49."

In connection with the Almaden case it may here be mentioned that Mr Billings himself secured in Mexico the evidence of a number of statesmen whose testimony would be of value. For their accommodation he specially chartered steamers to Mazatlan, and thence to San Francisco, entertaining them for months in princely fashion, and sending them home at a cost of more than \$200,000.

From the firm of which Mr Billings was the founder, Park was the first one to withdraw, and this he did to form a partnership with Shafter and Heydenfeldt. The remaining members continued to practise together until 1861, when by mutual consent

the firm was dissolved. Early in that year Mr Billings was selected by General Frémont, on account of his rare diplomatic ability, to accompany him to England, with a view to dispose to a British syndicate of the general's Mariposa estate, one of the largest and most valuable in California. But when the sale was all but consummated, the civil war broke out, and without apparent reason, except for the proverbial timidity of capitalists, the syndicate withdrew from further negotiations.

Returning to the states in 1862, the following year again saw Mr Billings in California, accompanied by his bride, Miss Julia Parnly, of New York city, of whom further mention will be made elsewhere in this biography. But, his health becoming impaired, he returned to New York for rest and change.

In March 1865, we find him once more en route for California, voyaging by way of the straits of Magellan, in a steamer sent forth to take her place on the Panamá route. Among his fellow-passengers was Professor Agassiz, and with the great scientist he formed one of those sincere and lasting friendships which death alone can sever. After a few months passed in San Francisco, he made an overland tour of the north-west, passing through Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia, up the Columbia river and through Puget sound. It needed not a man of his quick perception to appreciate the vast resources of this virgin and almost unpeopled region, its soil and situation, its forests, its rivers, and harbors; nor could he fail to notice its lack of facilities for communication, and especially of direct communication with the east. Here we have the key to his later connection, as will presently be related, with the Northern Pacific railroad.

But still his health did not improve, and acting under medical advice, in 1866 he returned to New York, soon afterward making his home at Woodstock, where, except for the time required by his duties in

the metropolis, were passed the remainder of his days, though with occasional visits to the Pacific coast.

It was with the greatest reluctance and with profound regret that Mr Billings severed his connection with California. Apart from his profession, of which he was one of the oldest and most respected members, he had been identified with the earlier history of the state, had been closely connected with her leading institutions, civil, social, and religious. In the stirring events which marked the formative period of her career, there was no more active and influential citizen, none more earnest in promoting measures for the common good, in establishing law and order, and in fostering all worthy enterprises that tended to give stability to a new and ambitious commonwealth.

Especially was his influence felt in combating those who, at the outbreak of the war, would have established here a Pacific coast republic. For this purpose he labored in connection with Thomas Starr King. Many were the addresses which he delivered, and never did he fail to impress his audiences with the power of his convictions, to kindle their patriotism by his earnest and eloquent appeals. Says one who knew him well: "As an orator, it is difficult to speak of him without overstepping the bounds of eulogy. He was contemporary with Baker, Tracy, Stanley, Foote, and a host of other brilliant rhetoricians. He was not a frequent speaker. His California life was so full that it gave him no time to study and practise the graces of oratory; nor had he the ambition to shine as an orator, and it was only when the occasion arose that seemed to demand his appearance, that he reluctantly mounted the rostrum. When he did so he was always full of his subject, and pouring it forth in fervid diction until the storm of his eloquence inspired his audience, from which moment he played upon them at will. He spoke during the war from the same platform with Starr King, and had no more

enthusiastic auditor than Mr King himself. Had he given himself to oratory, and made it the profession of his life, his friends believe that no orator of modern times would have ranked as his superior."

That the reader may judge for himself as to Mr Billings' oratorical powers, I will give here an extract from the speech in which he nominated George F. Edmunds for the presidency, at the republican convention of 1880:

"Mr President and Gentlemen of the Convention: That quiet state in New England, earliest born into the union after the old thirteen, whose people have always been loyal to liberty, enthusiastically urges the name of her most distinguished son as the fittest man to be inscribed in the presidential banner. Her delegates bring that message here with joy and pride alike, supreme because they know no state has a better right to name a republican candidate, and that no state can make a better man. For the first time in her history, although always in the advance guard of the republican hosts, Vermont thus comes to the front in a national convention. She thus comes, not seeking a reward for the loyalty which has never faltered in years gone by, not making a condition of the loyalty which is never to falter in the years to come. Her republicanism is not born of selfishness—it is bred in her bone, and it runs in her blood. Nor does she thus come because the man she names for the presidency sprang from her loins. He is no longer hers. He is the possession and the pride of the nation. Still more, Vermont would call on her everlasting mountains to fall on her and hide her before she would thrust any local pride or selfish ambition into the councils of this critical epoch. Vermont rises to the height of the occasion. She looks backward through the years; she looks forward through the years; and she feels the infinite peril, the ignominy and the crime of turning over the government to the administration of a revolutionary democracy. She longs for victory—the victory of patriotism at the polls and the victory of statesmanship after the polls. And she implores this convention to let no unnecessary issues, to let no discords born in hot rivalries, to let no personal ambition, to let no disensions, to let no anything put the victory in peril. She prays you to make that victory secure by going straight to the conscience and intelligence of the people, not only by your platform ringing with honor and honesty, but by putting on that platform a candidate far better than the platform, because known everywhere through the length and breadth of the land as its very incarnation, long tried and never found wanting. A candidate weak nowhere, strong everywhere, who will compact the party, bring every independent into line, and win recruits even from the enemy. That is victory here and now, victory for years to come. Any other course forebodes disaster and courts defeat for years to come. Such a candidate, healing all dissensions, of wondrous ability, of aggressive integrity, of the largest experience in public affairs, of the highest statesmanship, is that brave, clean, vigilant man, on whom rests no shadow of reproach, to whom in every crisis in the councils of the nation we turn with joy and confidence, the central figure and leader of the senate—the foremost type and defender of all that is best in the republican faith, the ideal candidate, seeking not the office, worthy of the best days of this republic, having the promise and the potency of victory, is George F. Edmunds."

By his friends he was repeatedly urged to accept preferment, and especially the nomination for congress;

but without avail. All such requests he firmly but courteously refused, for to mingle in the muddy stream of politics, to use such wiles and artifices as were needed to insure success in the early days of California, and indeed are needed to a far greater degree at the present time, was utterly foreign to his nature. Perhaps it was for this very reason that he was held in such repute by both houses of the legislature, and that when Lincoln was reconstructing the cabinet for his second term, a joint resolution was passed recommending Mr Billings for a place. That he would have been appointed, had the president lived, is beyond doubt, for only two days before his assassination he promised a member of the California delegation that the request should be granted. During Johnson's régime a similar resolution was passed, and again during that of general Grant, with whom, in his later years, he lived as a neighbor in New York city, and on terms of cordial intimacy.

But if, during his sojourn in California, the state had cause to regret his absence from her halls of legislature, in other respects there were none to whom she has become so deeply indebted. To social, religious, and educational institutions he extended a helping hand, for such he esteemed as the greatest factors of civilization. Of the first presbyterian church of San Francisco, organized in 1850 in a tent on Stockton street, he was one of the founders, and from his purse came most of the money with which that body afterward erected one of the most attractive structures in the city. He was one of the earliest members of the board of education, and largely through his thoughtful efforts in their behalf, the public schools were brought to a state of efficiency. At the dedication, in September 1854, of the schoolhouse at North beach, he delivered an address, which was published at the request of the mayor and other prominent citizens before whom it was spoken. A few extracts will here be given:

"It is most fit that the day which witnesses the dedication of this fine structure to the purpose of its building should be marked with ceremony. Were it the tenth or twentieth, instead of the second, substantial edifice complete and ready for the education of the children of our city, still should the event be the occasion of rejoicing. The first step, the second step, and all steps, in the beginning and progress of the work, to celebrate whose efficient prosecution we come together to-day, will be remembered to the praise of our city in her history—and what is worthy of history may well redeem an hour from the present.

"To be sure, our building is no crystal palace, to inaugurate whose opening the president puts off the cares of government, and the queen descends from her throne; no such multitude is here as gathers to witness the laying of the corner-stone or capstone of the great monument; and, perhaps, the clipper ship, gay with flags, glides into her element amid the cheers of a larger assemblage than is present here. But neither event, however more imposing in its outward circumstance, is half so great in its intrinsic worth and significance as this event of to-day. Give us the spirit and the intelligence of which this building is both a sign and a promise, and we are sure to have the ship, the monument, and even the palace; but take away the schoolhouse—tell us that it is not in the land—and never will there be occasion for a gathering to behold the great work finished or the great deed done. The character that underlies them is certain to be wanting.

"Humble may be the schoolhouse—rudely constructed, of logs, perhaps—as in the early days of new settlements; with crevices so large and so numerous that, in a New England winter, even the mammoth fire-place, blazing with its back logs and fore logs and split wood above and chips beneath, can hardly keep the cold without. And far apart may these rude structures be: placed on the side or summit of a bleak hill difficult of access—honestly and impartially placed there because the spot is the centre of the district or township,—and thither through the deep snows the big sled drawn by the big oxen may take the little children in the morning who come not home until night. Or, advancing a step further in the progress of the settlements—when, with the children grown up and new settlers arrived, the means and the population of the township have multiplied, and the districts are increased in number and diminished in size, and here and there a village is seen—we may behold more pretending schoolhouses; not so far apart; built of framed timber, painfully square in shape; having small windows of not large panes of glass, high up from the ground; some of them aristocratic; enough to be clapboarded and painted cheap red; with the honest old fire-place generally on the right of the door as you entered, closed up to give way to the stove—a change that is not an improvement. Or, taking a long stride and coming down to our own day, we may find schoolhouses everywhere: in the country dotting the hill-sides, and making cheerful the valleys; in our cities, along shaded streets, and in prominent places, and wherever needed; attracting attention by their number and architectural beauty; surrounded with grounds tastefully arranged, where grounds can be had; built of the best material, without regard to expense, and every consideration of health, and comfort, and beauty consulted. But whether built of logs, or framed timber, or brick, or stone; whether far apart or near, painted or unpainted; good, bad or indifferent, the schoolhouse marks the spirit, intelligence, and character of the people. It comes in point of time, save the house in which we were born, before all other structures, and is at the beginning of all that is good and great in any community.

"I am saying no new thing. I am glad that I am not. Our fathers acted on this principle. They hardly provided shelter for their heads before their axes resounded in the forests, felling the trees for the schoolhouse; and their precepts and examples have not been lost on their children. Our country has been called a country of schoolhouses. In old states and new states, individuals, associations, and legislatures contribute to the cause of popular education. It is a leading feature in the policy of our government; our people cheerfully are taxed for it; our great men have enforced it, and

nothing new is to be said of it. Everybody knows that the common school is to society and the state what the rich quartz is to the placers—the matrix, the great original source of wealth; that they are the lighthouses of intelligence; the fortresses, the strougholds of virtue; that the children educated there are the great standing army of our country, the army that makes the other army that achieves the victories of war, and the still other and greater army that achieves the gentler and better victories of peace.

"But the very commonness of these schools prevents, in a great measure, our realizing their vast worth and significance; their intimate connection with, and control over, the character of a people; the necessity of their creation, and the wisdom of their perpetuation. It is because the sun rises every morning that we fail to hail his coming with acclamation. It is because the air we breathe is so free that we think so little of its presence and necessity. It is the rare thing, the thing that occurs at long intervals, that arrests our attention. Men watch and wait for the yearly eclipse, and almost forget the every-day sun, 'the unhasting still unresting sun.'

"Thankful should we be to Providence that great blessings are so multiplied to us that we have no room for a holiday, a day of rejoicing for each; thankful that great events are not so rare that each in its coming can be welcomed with barks closed, and the tide of business stayed, and gay processions in our streets. It speaks infinitely for the healthful industry and prosperity of a people, if they yield not much to excitement and display. The top spins the fastest when its motion can hardly be seen; the machinery works best when it makes the least noise.

"But sometimes it is well to stop and rejoice. Such an occasion is this that assembles us to-day. No need is there of a great gathering or much ado; no grand demonstration is called for. But it is well that some should assemble to hail the completion of this structure; to welcome it to the present and commend it to the future. Not simply on account of the building, however well adapted to its purposes, and however much an ornament to the city. Yet the building is a most praiseworthy structure; right royal, contrasted with those of the early days of our country, and comparing most favorably with the best of our own day—those of the city of Boston, so munificent in her provisions for common-school education, and so noted for her common-school buildings. To one who remembers the confined air, the uncomfortable seats, the high desks, and the distracting noise of the single room of the schoolhouse of old, it is a relief to look at this building, combining all the conveniences, and comforts, and improvements of modern times. To enjoy the luxury of going to school in such a schoolhouse would be a sufficient inducement for me, if I could sing, to strike up the song,

"O, would I were a boy again,"

in which doubtless all present would join, save, perhaps, the ladies and the children.

"But the building is to be rejoiced over, not so much for what it is, as for what it indicates; not so much for what it speaks for itself, as for the city that built it, and not only the city, but the state in which the city is, and not only the state, but the vast region over which the state is to exercise a controlling influence.

"To one who goes to the Atlantic states various are the questions put about California. The old story of the discovery of gold in the mill race is to be gone over; the fantastic scenes of the early working of her mines are to be recounted; the extent of her placers, the size of her trees, the character of her soil, the peculiarities of her climate, the growth of her cities, the amount of her population, the prospects for railroads, the chances for business—these, and a thousand other matters, are all to be discussed. And, when, in all these respects, curiosity is satisfied, and inquiry ceases, and the consideration that she deserves is given to our state, then, and properly too, as if all other matters were of no value unless there is something more, the questions come thick and fast—but what is your social life? What is society doing for itself and that to come? How about homes and children there,

and what about common schools? And that last question about schools covers all. For where there are children to be educated, and they are educated, there must be hearthstones and homes; and where there are homes have no fear for society; and where society can be trusted, all is well, in spite of all vicissitudes, whether the soil is deep and rich or thin and poor—whether the climate be soft and sunny or rough and stern—whether the rain comes in one season or in all seasons, or never comes—whether there is an abundance of gold in the mountains or none at all.

"A year ago, when away from California, I was proud to speak of what the state, and particularly of what San Francisco had done thus early for common-school education. I hardly waited for questions. I knew something of what had been accomplished, of what was in progress, and what was aimed at in that particular, and I was anxious to make it known. For, among all the attractive features of our golden state, this was sure to be the most gratifying and the most satisfying; this, more than all things else, would plant her firmly in the faith of those who, though never having seen her, loved her and wished her well. The eyes of mothers grew brighter and the hopes of fathers stronger as they were told the story. As they heard of the children here—of the positive legislation for their education by the city and state—and of the hearty interest and business-like manner with which the people had gone to work to establish a system of common schools, not to be surpassed by the far-famed schools of New England, they began to believe that the distant land to which their sons and daughters had gone was not the wild, turbulent, chaotic, ever-to-be-dreaded California which they had fancied it; without law, without conscience; reckless, abandoned, corrupting; where there was nothing worth the seeking save the gold, and he who found that lost himself. They began to believe there was order and domestic comfort here; that there was an energizing, quickening spirit at work, laying broad and deep the foundations of society and the state; that the sense of religious obligation and the authority of conscience were not strangers to us; that, while there was an unparalleled activity and progressiveness in all our doings, there was likewise a durability and a healthy growth; that even so early, and amid and in spite of all its excitements, our land was budding and blossoming forth with rich luxuriance in the refined and pure affections of social life, and in the nobler enterprises of benevolence.

"And let it not be forgotten that the talismanic words which call up far away these visions of hope and beauty for California are—'Behold her schools and her churches!' Her schools and her churches, I say; for where one is, the other will be. Not that her churches and schools are everything, or that there is nothing worth regarding beside them. We are not in school-houses all our lives; nor is every day a Sunday calling us to church. School-houses cannot go to sea, nor carry on commerce, nor guide the plow, nor build the railroad, nor make laws. They are not a substitute for commerce, or agriculture, or enterprise, or law, or government. They are not a substitute for anything that man can do. Nor do they go above man. They cannot give us the gentle rain, or the softly-falling dew, or the whispering breeze, or the sunlight, or the moonlight, or the starlight; nor can they enable us to do without them. They are simply places where children are taught; not taught everything, nor every one taught something. They do not profess to make philosophers, or poets, or painters; politicians, doctors, farmers, or lawyers, or fit anybody for this particular thing, or that particular thing, or the other particular thing. After all we say about them, they are the most modest, unassuming places in the world.

"But this they do. They lay the groundwork of the man—and that is everything, because it amounts to everything. The productive energy that in this our day all over the world is doing such great, and brave, and wonderful things, received its first impulse there. And if it is not the province, as it is not, of the common school alone, of itself to compass all education and impart all the knowledge for which the mind has capacity,

yet it is the beginning and condition of all education and educational systems, and without which there could be no education and no system. The higher school presupposes and involves the common school, and the university presupposes and involves them both. The common school can exist and get along without the other two, but not in its highest efficiency; for to suppose the common school best taught is to presuppose the university to educate and furnish the best teachers. Rightly viewed, the true path of education lies in a great circle—and this great circle is as much more important than the great circle of Lieutenant Maury as the voyage of a soul through life is more important than the voyage of a ship around the world.

“And it is because the common school is the starting point in this great circle, if a circle can be said to have a starting point—it is because of this great system which grows out of the common school, and because of the intelligence and high purpose in a people which the existence of this system indicates, that the common school is so significant.

“Here lies the secret of the great faith which the schoolhouse imparts. Here lies the explanation of the talismanic effect of the words, ‘behold her schools and her churches.’ It is thus that the structure, whether simple or more pretending, has become a sign and a monument—a monument seen from afar, and wherever seen, giving assurance of the general diffusion of intelligence—of the education of the great mass of the people in their moral and intellectual character—of a population intelligent, virtuous, skilled in the arts of life, capable of advancement and striving to attain it. It is thus that the knowledge of the schoolhouse, standing, as it does, close to the church, delivers us always from the slavery of fear and makes us rejoice in the promptings of hope. It is thus that to the far-off real well-wishers of our state the news of such scenes, however unpretending, as we are engaged in to-day, will speak more for us than the largest shipments of gold and the most hopeful letters of trade. It will speak the more for us, because of their great fear for us—and their fear was reasonable. Great were our elements of danger. In the feverish excitement of our population—in the anxious, bustling, jostling, eager haste to get gold—and with the prevailing impression that this was to be no abiding place—whence was to come the inclination, and if the inclination, whence the leisure to conceive and carry out broad schemes for the public good. Even if many an individual act was to be performed with no reward except the consciousness of duty alone, whence was to come the united action that slowly, diligently, in all patience, spite of all discouragements, should begin, carry on, and perfect great systems of general improvement? Systems making no noise in their operation, whose fruits were in the future, and those fruits, virtue, refinement, intelligence.

“But mark this building! It is my text; and as often the text of the pulpit is better than the discourse, so this text is more eloquent for our city than any words of mine. Here it stands, at the North beach; for so recently was this locality a beach—a solitary beach, and nothing more—that still the name clings to it, though thick now with buildings and busy with life. It is outside, beyond the old graveyard, which a few years since was thought to be so far away from the business of the place that has grown up into our present great city, as to insure to those buried there perpetual security from all encroachments. It stands where it will be almost the first object to attract the eye of the new-comer as our city begins to open to his view; and what first impressions such an introduction will produce, I leave to you to conceive.

“As I stand here within its walls to-day, my thoughts go back to the early days of our city, when there were no schoolhouses, and there was no occasion for them, because there were no children to fill them; when our population could be counted by hundreds, and consisted of men who were dwellers in tents, or in wooden buildings that were not buildings, but only caricatures. And I see how vast and rapid has been our growth, in moral, social, and general greatness. I thought then that San Francisco would never be great and good until the advent of bricks and children—of bricks,

as the accompaniment and exponent of permanence, regularity, confidence, security, and sound basis of what may be called the business and the external of society; of children, as the accompaniment and exponent of gentleness, goodness, truthfulness, and integrity of what may be called the spirit and the internal of society. The city built up of wood and cloth is not more easy or certain to be consumed by fire, than society made up of men alone is to be destroyed by vice. That the bricks and children have both come, again I say, mark this building.

"Is is not a most significant building—significant in manner of construction, in purpose, in position, but more than all, significant in prophetic revelation? It ought to be lithographed; and in every city, in every village, and in every house, where are heard lamentations over the desolations of our city, there should the picture be hung—underneath, the simple words—A San Francisco schoolhouse; and above, the familiar, but significant motto, *E pluribus unum*. The horseshoe, that some years ago might have been seen so solemnly nailed over the door of many a house in New England, had not such charm and power to drive away the witches as this picture would have to dispel the gloomy doubts and fears which in many minds rise up with the name of San Francisco, and brood over her future. And what power that horseshoe had, it is more befitting that our new mayor, so soon to be the president of the board of education, should tell, for he comes from the good town of Salem, where the witches had their headquarters and the horseshoe was most in vogue.

"Rightly have we assembled to rejoice over this building. And though the great ground of our rejoicing is in the spirit, and union, and energy of our people, from whom really the building comes, let us not forget those who have been instrumental in its erection. The system to which the building belongs, the worthy superintendent who particularly watches over the system, the board of education on which the superintendent relies, the ordinance that created the board, and the authorities that made the ordinance; shall not honorable mention be made of them all to-day? For the encouragement of the superintendent, and the present board, and the present authorities of our city; and the superintendent, and the board, and the authorities to come; and of all who, in any way, at any time, may be connected mediately or immediately with the great trust of carrying out the will of our people, with reference to common schools and common-school education; let us recognize and hold up to praise the zeal, and energy, and faithfulness to duty, of which this well-proportioned, well-constructed, and wisely adapted building is more ample proof. Let us ever stay up the hands of those who seek out the children of the city, who make intelligent their wants, and give form and shape to the legislation of our municipality for the interests of education. Their duty may lie in a noiseless path, but that fact, in this noisy part of our noisy world, makes those who are faithful worthy of the more praise.

"And now we dedicate this building to its purpose. We set it apart by no formal ceremony. We proclaim it finished; we throw wide open its doors; we invite the children to come to it; and we leave it to the future; not altogether leave it, for our hopes cluster around it, and our good wishes will ever attend it. Long may it stand to accomplish its work. May those who come to it for instruction, come to it as a pleasant home. In after years may they remember it with pleasant recollections; and, above all, be able to say that to it they are debtors. And scattered, as perhaps they will be, widely through the world, that debt may they discharge, by doing for the children of their day what here has been done for them. So shall this building help to vindicate and establish everywhere the policy so characteristic of our country, of making the institution of schools for the general diffusion of knowledge, a cherished and leading object in the business of government. And while doing this, it will speak better things for the city of San Francisco, in her early days, than anything else in her history. Fruitful will this building be in the present, I trust, but far more so, I know,

in the future. It is simply a schoolhouse, but the good it will do will live long after its walls may have crumbled with age; when we who dedicate it to-day, and even the children whose voices so soon will be heard within it, shall have ceased to live. Rightly do we rejoice over its completion, and hopefully do we give it to its work."

Nor was it alone as an orator, or judge of oratory, that Mr Billings excelled. In literature and art his taste was perfect, and as keen as it was discriminating. No one enjoyed with keener relish the works of genius in whatever department, for he was a man of universal sympathies, and whatever was good in human life became in a measure assimilated with his broad and catholic nature. While his standard was of the highest, he was the most generous of men in his estimation of others, never inclining to severity and hypercriticism, or if so, it was only toward himself, as one who set before him the mark of his high calling and judged himself thereby. Of all the traits of character which stamped him as a great man, perhaps the strongest was the greatness of his humility.

Among those to whom the university of California is indebted for its existence is Frederick Billings, who came to the assistance of Durant and Brayton, when struggling to maintain at Oakland what was then the only institution in the state devoted to the higher branches of education. Of his connection with that institution, later known as the college and afterward the university of California, his friend and colleague, Willey, thus writes to the committee:

"Mr Billings was one of those who did the preliminary work of founding the college of California, commencing in 1849 and continuing till 1855, when the college was incorporated according to law, and he was one of the first trustees. He was always ready to give his time to plan and consult for the upbuilding of the college, to attend the frequent meetings of trustees, and when necessary to give his professional services in the transaction of its business. At the same time he gave his constant influence in favor of

the college in social life, as well as in public. He was enthusiastic in his behalf. All this time he was under the heaviest kind of business pressure, and with him time was more even than money.

"Thus he continued on until his own health gave way, and he was obliged to leave the state. Before he left, however, he was elected by the trustees president of the college, and was urged to accept the office. He did not see his way clear to do this at the time, but years after, in 1884, he wrote me thus in regard to it: 'I have never been reconciled to the turning of the college over to the university. I have sometimes wished that I had accepted the presidency of the college when it was tendered me, for though it would have given me a life of hard work, there would have been great satisfaction if I could have succeeded in putting the institution upon a firm and prosperous foundation.'"

Such was the modest ambition of one who then ranked among the railroad magnates of the east, one to whom was due the resuscitation of the Northern Pacific Railroad company after the collapse of 1873. It was in 1869 that Mr Billings first became connected with the Northern Pacific, purchasing in that year from Hiram Walbridge a one-twelfth interest in the property. In 1870 he was appointed to the directorate, which office he held until the year before his death, and in 1879 was elected to the presidency, resigning that position in 1881, when a controlling interest passed into the hands of Villard. As chairman of the land committee he organized the land department, of which he was managing director until the reorganization of the company in 1875. In 1871, together with President Smith and certain of the directors, he located the crossing of Red river, and in the following year the terminus on Puget sound. In 1873 he was one of a committee, of which the remaining members were R. D. Rice, the vice-president, and W. G. Moorhead, a director, organ-

ized for the purpose of enlisting new capital in San Francisco, and making arrangements for beginning the construction of the road on the Pacific side. With them went William Milnor Roberts, the engineer-in-chief.

For several years after its organization the Northern Pacific company was regarded as one of the most promising railroad enterprises of the age. While receiving from the government no subsidy in bonds, its land grant was far more valuable than that of the Central or Union Pacific. Along its route were no deserts, no lack of water, timber, or building-stone. Whether for agriculture or stock-raising, there was no parallel zone that surpassed and few that equalled its resources. Mineral lands were included in its grant, and in minerals, especially coal and iron, not a few of its sections abounded. In much of it forest and prairie alternated, making easy and inexpensive the opening and cultivation of farms. The climate was excellent, free from drought, from extremes of moisture, heat or cold, and from all malarial influences. The route passed through some of the finest scenery on which human eye can rest, through fertile valleys and undulating plains, across rolling prairies and foothills, flanked by mountain ranges, by mountain spurs, and solitary peaks, among which nestled innumerable lakes, with waters of clearest crystal. It was, moreover, a central route, and the shortest from the great lakes to the Pacific coast, which here bends inland toward the east. It was also the most practicable, for here were no such obstacles as had been encountered on the Central-Union, and were later encountered on the Southern Pacific.

All these and other advantages Mr Billings had not failed to observe during his sojourn in the northwest, and it is only justice to himself to state that his liberal investments in the company's stock, and what is more, the aid which he rendered in giving so freely the benefit of his financial and executive ability dur-

ing the darkest period of its history, were more in the interests of the people than for his own.

In 1873, and for some time afterward, even the preferred stock of the Northern Pacific was regarded as anything but a safe or profitable investment. After the failure of Jay Cooke and company, the affairs of the association sank into an almost hopeless condition. Its bonds had become unsalable, and money for immediate wants could only be borrowed in small amounts by pledging \$2,000 or \$3,000 of its securities for every \$1,000 advanced. Its best friends had turned against it, and by the newspapers it was derided as "a scheme to build a railroad from nowhere, through no man's land, to no place." It was with the utmost difficulty that the company retained a hold on its main line of road, by cutting down all expenses and largely reducing its operating force. From Lake Superior the line had been completed westward to the Missouri, a distance of some 450 miles, and though running through a fertile region, there was little as yet to furnish traffic, for farms were few and far between, and such towns as had been located existed only on paper. Moreover, the crash of 1873 had not only put a stop to railroad building, but had checked immigration from Europe, and what was more, had checked the westward migration of native-born Americans. On the Pacific side a small section had been completed, from a point on the Columbia river to New Tacoma, on Puget sound, then but an embryo town, carved out of the woods, and with no promise of its future greatness. On both sides running expenses could barely be earned, a single daily train of freight and passenger cars serving for the entire traffic of the northwestern section.

Meanwhile the interest on its bonds, at the rate of seven and three tenths per cent, funded and compounded semi-annually, was adding more than \$2,000,000 a year to the company's indebtedness. As there was no surplus, it was impossible otherwise to

make even a pretence of satisfying the claims of bondholders, whose patience was sorely taxed while thus witnessing the gradual annihilation of their investments. In a word, the company was on the verge of insolvency, and this, the route prepared by nature as the highway to the Pacific, must as it seemed be abandoned, at least for many a year to come.

It was at this juncture that Mr Billings came to the rescue, and as chairman of the executive committee suggested his plan of reorganization, a financial measure whose soundness won for him the admiration of the most perfect masters of finance. As to the details of that plan, and of its execution, they can be best explained in the language afterward used by Mr Billings himself, before the committee of congress:

"When the crash came there were three parties to be considered—those who had bought the bonds, the holders of the stock, and the owners of what is called 'the proprietary interest.' The bondholders were scattered from Maine to Texas, and at that time numbered about 11,000. There was also a considerable floating debt, and the road was but little more than paying its expenses. The enterprise had reached no objective point, and it was necessary to carry it further to make what had been invested in it valuable. But in its then condition no additional funds could be raised, and so, early in the spring of 1875, it was thought best to foreclose the mortgage, to rid the road of its debt, and to place it in condition for further development. All the parties interested were brought together, and in order that there might be no prolonged litigation, all interests were harmonized, and in a few months the property was sold under a plan of reorganization, which was made part of the decree of foreclosure, and thus speedily taken out of court.

"The agreement which harmonized all parties was this: the capital stock, which by the charter was authorized to be \$100,000,000, was divided into \$51,000,000 of preferred stock, and \$49,000,000 of common stock. The bondholders were to have \$30,000,000 of preferred stock for their \$30,000,000 of bonds, and as these bonds drew seven and three tenths per cent in gold, the interest was called eight per cent in currency. Two years' interest had already accrued, and it was decided to give to the preferred stockholders not only this two years' interest, but three years' interest in advance—five years' interest at eight per cent, making forty per cent, so that each holder of a bond of \$1,000 received \$1,400 of preferred stock. This absorbed, say, \$12,000,000 of the preferred stock, and the remaining \$9,000,000 was to be in the treasury for the general purposes of the company. The stockholders were to receive common stock, share for share; were not to be allowed to vote for several years, and were to receive no dividends until, in each year, eight per cent had been paid on the preferred stock. The remainder of the capital stock, after deducting the \$51,000,000 of preferred stock, and also the common stock, was to be distributed among the owners of the proprietary interest."

At first there was no little opposition to Mr Billings' project. Among other objections it was urged

that while a foreclosure of the mortgage would include not only the roadway so far as constructed, but the land grant so far as earned, together with all equipments and personal property, to proceed with the work of construction additional legislation must be had, together with new congressional subsidy. But by Mr Billings' and the company's counsel, the ground was taken that since congress had authorized the corporation to execute a mortgage including everything, even to its franchise, all rights under the charter would pass, together with the property, to the purchasers under the foreclosure, who would thus become virtually the Northern Pacific company itself. If this purchase could be made on equitable terms, with a view to the interests of the parties concerned—the holders of the bonds and stock and proprietary interest—then the entire property would be saved for the benefit of those to whom of right it belonged, and the company, rid of its enormous debt, could borrow the money wherewith to push its road to completion.

On the 16th of April, 1875, proceedings in bankruptcy were commenced in the United States circuit court of New York, George W. Cass, then president of the company, being appointed receiver. A few weeks later a decree of foreclosure was signed. Then the plan of reorganization was carried into effect by a committee appointed by the bondholders, in whose interest the entire property was purchased, together with all the company's rights and privileges. Thus did the bondholders, represented by their committee, among whom was Mr Billings, become themselves the body corporate styled the Northern Pacific railroad company.

Before the end of the year more than eighty per cent of the bonds had been converted into preferred stock; the debt had been extinguished, and the corporation thus reorganized was in the possession of at least 550 miles of roadway, completed and equipped,

with a land grant already earned of 10,000,000 acres, and with the right to earn, by the completion of its line, some 30,000,000 additional acres. The cost of the proceedings was but trifling, for with such skill and judgment, and also with such perfect harmony had they been conducted, that the army of freebooters who hang on the skirts of fallen corporations was entirely baffled. Through the efforts of Mr Billings and his associates the company had now been relieved from its difficulties, and with the dawn of better days the confidence of the public, and what was more, of capitalists, gradually returned.

Mr Billings' services in framing and carrying into effect his plan of reorganization met with the recognition due to one of the most brilliant financial achievements of the age. At a meeting of the board of directors, held on the 16th of December, 1875, the following tribute was offered by the chairman of the purchasing committee:

"The associates of Mr Frederick Billings on the purchasing committee, in the course of its arduous labors to reorganize the Northern Pacific railroad company, became acquainted with his many and uncommon qualifications for the difficult work entrusted to us by the bondholders, and required of us by the stockholders. In a close intercourse of eight months, in which numerous questions of law, finance, and policy were discussed, in which doubtful jurisdiction of courts, and novel proceedings in foreclosure were debated, in which the rights of a receiver already in the possession of the property had to be considered and respected, in which the conflicting interests of bondholders and stockholders had to be harmonized, and the holders of a large floating debt provided for; in which the future success of this corporated enterprise had to be kept constantly in view; in which the title paper of the property of one hundred millions of dollars had to be prepared and scrutinized, and the corporate life of the Northern Pacific railroad company passed unbroken and without a flaw through the purchasing committee to the preferred stockholders of the reorganized corporation, we became familiar with Mr Billings' devoted industry, rare intelligence, perfect candor, disinterestedness, and courage. His services in the reorganization were extraordinarily valuable. He was familiar with the principles of law, and quick and clear in applying them. He was fertile and practical in suggestion. In discussion he went to the bottom. He did not hesitate to disagree when his judgment was not satisfied. He tested everything. He forecast the future constantly; rejected temporary expedients, and insisted on building solidly and enduringly; and daily he brought to the work of the committee a courage, faith, and enthusiasm which strengthened us all. Eight weeks ago, having nearly reached the close of our trust, Mr Stark, Mr Moorhead, Mr Denison, Mr Hutchinson and I thought that some marked recognition of Mr Billings' services, and some acknowledgment of our regard for him, should properly be made. We determined that we would pay him the compliment of having his photographed likeness engraved on a steel

plate, and this board of directors consenting that it should be printed as a vignette on the certificates of stock of the Northern Pacific railroad company, which he had so well and faithfully served."

It need hardly be said that the action of the committee was approved by the board; and a request was then forwarded to Mr Billings, asking permission to use his likeness for the purpose mentioned. To this he replied in a characteristic letter, accepting the compliment as a token of esteem, and with his usual modesty stating as the only drawback that it gave to himself too much prominence in an undertaking where all had worked with a will and most effectively.

In Mr Billings' Woodstock home are many choice works of art, many choice gems of literature, but in none perhaps did he take such pride as in this fitting testimonial of his associates, a copy of which, handsomely framed and engrossed, occupied the place of honor until the day of his death.

But the Northern Pacific was not yet out of its difficulties. Long after the reorganization plan was carried into effect, even its preferred stock was difficult of sale at from 25 to 30 cents on the dollar. Throughout the land there was a scarcity of money, or rather there was a scarcity of confidence, and in common with other enterprises the company suffered from the business depression which followed the panic of 1873. At such a time there were few who cared to invest their surplus funds in a railroad built through an uninhabited region, far into the wilderness of the northwest.

It was not until the close of 1878, and after vain appeals for congressional aid, that financial measures were devised for the construction of the Missouri division. On this occasion Mr Billings again appears on the scene as the savior of the company, the success of which was still a matter of doubt. At his recommendation, and largely through his efforts, bonds were placed to the amount of \$2,500,000, secured by a

mortgage on the section lying between the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, together with its share of the land grant, at the rate of 25,600 acres for each mile of completed road. Thus at length the line was pushed westward from the Missouri.

It was in 1879, as I have said, that Mr Billings was appointed to the presidency of the Northern Pacific, and then came the most active period in the history of its construction. Under his advice the directors decided to resume work on the Pacific coast, from the junction of the Snake and Columbia rivers, eastward to Lake Pend d'Oreille. As in the case of the Missouri division, bonds were issued, secured by a mortgage on the road and land grant, in this instance at the rate of \$20,000 a mile, or \$4,500,000 in all. In the following year, while work on both divisions was still in progress, construction was begun westward from the Yellowstone, and preparations made for building along the entire line.

Thus by his system of division mortgages did Mr Billings carry the Northern Pacific through the crisis of its history. To him is especially due the credit of foreseeing that, in the then condition of affairs, a general mortgage, including the entire property, would find no favor with the public, fearful, as they were, that new disaster would befall so vast a project. Only by making the several portions of the line responsible for the debt entailed by their construction, and even then by the offer of a bonus, could subscriptions be procured. It is, indeed, only too probable that, save for the financial skill of Mr Billings, and for his persistent efforts, the Northern Pacific would have shared the disastrous fate of many another railroad enterprise, would, after an expenditure of many millions, have fallen into utter ruin, and then been purchased for a trifle and carried forward to completion by one of those capitalists or syndicates of capitalists who are ever on the watch for such opportunities. But the masterpiece of his career was the

plan of reconstruction, which, as a financial measure, will compare favorably with any of the great operations of the day.

The time was near at hand, however, when the Northern Pacific was to be relieved from its strait. In the autumn of 1880 its president was invited to call at the New York banking-house of Winslow, Lanier, and company, who for years had been watching the progress of affairs. After some consultation on the subject of a general mortgage loan, the firm decided to investigate the matter, and without entering into details it may simply be stated that their decision being favorable, they were afterward joined by Drexel Morgan and company and A. Belmont and company. By the syndicate thus formed a loan was negotiated, and by the company a mortgage executed providing for the issue of \$40,000,000 in bonds, bearing interest at six per cent and redeemable in 1921. The entire issue was taken by the syndicate, at prices ranging from 90 to 92½, a bonus being allowed of five per cent in preferred stock as a part of the consideration. At the time there were many who regarded the investment as a doubtful one; but that it was not so is proved by the fact that before the road was completed these bonds were selling, and are still selling, at a premium.

All this, and more, Mr Billings accomplished during his two years' term of office. In June 1881, a controlling interest having passed into the hands of Villard and his associates, he was only too glad to resign the presidency. His health was seriously impaired by overwork; arrived at the age of fifty-seven, he desired a season of rest, a rest long needed, and now indeed enjoined by his physician. But this was not yet to be. Tendering his resignation as a director, it was declined, for he was one whose name and services could not be spared. While to others has been accorded the fame of carrying to a successful issue a project long regarded as hopeless, to him is

none the less due the credit of its accomplishment. Here was the true master spirit of the enterprise, the architect of its fortunes, the man who, wresting victory from defeat, redeemed the company from a condition of hopeless insolvency, and placed it on a sound financial basis.

Before withdrawing from the presidency, his plan of reorganization had received the approval of the government, and passed the ordeal of the courts. Each class of stockholders had received the stock provided for it. The preferred stock had risen from \$10 a share to \$80, and the common stock from \$2 to \$50, the latter almost the highest price that it ever reached, and higher than that for which were selling, ten years later, the ordinary shares in any of our transcontinental lines. Thanks to Mr Billings, the company had passed through the darker period of its history, and was now emerging into the sunlight of prosperity and success.

Long before the building of the Northern Pacific, or indeed, of any of our overland lines, Mr Billings had been a firm supporter of the project for an inter-oceanic canal by way of Lake Nicaragua. Though for a time his attention had been diverted from this enterprise, he had never ceased to regard it as of the utmost importance to the interests of the Pacific coast. Largely through his efforts the concessions were secured and the canal company formed, of which he was one of the incorporators and directors, and also chairman of the executive committee. With many other corporations he was also connected as president, director, or trustee, including banks and trust companies, insurance companies, railroad and canal companies, whose operations extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Among them were the American Exchange national bank, the Farmers' loan and trust company, the Manhattan savings institution, the Woodstock national bank, the Manhattan life insurance company, the Atlantic and Pacific railroad,

the Overland stage company, the Delaware and Hudson canal company, the Connecticut river, Vermont valley, Connecticut and Passumpsic, and Rutland railroad companies.

Thus fled along his busy life; and to his associates it was ever a cause of wonder how he found time to dispose of the enormous load of work entailed by his manifold duties. And yet he not only found the time, but his services were ever ready at the call of humanity or of charity. To reading he devoted no small portion of his scanty leisure, and while never a bookworm was always in touch with the current literature of the day.

There is perhaps no act or incident of his career that will cause his name to be held in more lasting esteem than the gift which he made to his alma mater, the university of Vermont. On the death, in 1882, of George P. Marsh, United States minister to Italy, his library was regarded by scholars and philologists as one of the finest collections extant. This Mr Billings purchased and presented to the university, at the same time expressing his intention to erect a suitable building for its accommodation, and engaging for that purpose the services of H. H. Richardson, then the foremost of American architects. The result was a donation worthy of the giver, a fitting token of his munificence, and the pride of the city of Burlington, which, apart from the metropolis, now contains perhaps the choicest library in all the New England states. A few months before his death he gave an additional sum of \$50,000 to be invested as an endowment fund, and the income to be devoted to the current expenses of the institution which bears his name. To Amherst college he also presented \$50,000 for the founding of a professorship in memory of his son Parmly, who graduated in the class of 1884, and to the Mount Hermon school, in memory of his son Ehrick, a similar amount.

But to relate all the benefactions with which Mr

Billings is accredited would occupy many times the space allotted to his biography; and yet they are not a tithe of those which he actually bestowed. One or two further instances will here suffice.

To the town of Billings, the seat of the county of Yellowstone, in the state of Montana, named after himself, he presented a beautiful church edifice, built at his own expense, and at a cost of many thousands of dollars. So little progress had then been made in settlement, that from its site the bones and horns of buffalo were cleared away before the foundation was laid. In Woodstock he built a memorial chapel to his father and mother, and a few weeks before his death, finished at an outlay of more than \$40,000 the reconstruction of "the old white meeting house," where in his boyhood days he worshipped. In the character of Mr Billings was ever a deep religious element, one inherited largely from his mother, and fostered by her influence and training. It was indeed at one time his intention to devote his life to the ministry, and a minister in truth he was, if not in name, in heart and deed: one in whom the highest qualities of Christian stewardship were nobly exemplified.

Of the churches which he attended he was a most helpful member, and whether with his purse, his counsel, or his services, there were none more ready to render aid. Especially was this the case with the first presbyterian church in San Francisco, of which, indeed, he may be termed the founder, placing himself in all things at its disposal from the time when, with five others, he collected its first congregation. All that man could do for it he did, even to acting as its janitor, with his own hands sweeping it out and dusting it in order to save expense. Young as he was, the congregation looked up to him, leaned on him, depended on him in all things, including too often the payment of the minister's salary, or at least an undue share of it.

On the 31st of March, 1862, Mr Billings was married to Julia, the daughter of Eleazar Parmly, of New York city. Miss Parmly's ancestors belonged to the oldest of New England stock, and like those of her husband, were residents of Vermont. Her father, a dentist, began his professional career in London, but the damp and murky atmosphere of that city proving injurious to his health, he removed to New York, where for some thirty years he was among the leading practitioners, realizing from his practice and investments a fortune of more than a million and a half. He was a man of strong purpose, of high social and intellectual aims, and of earnest Christian character. In his tastes, no less than in his manners and habits, he displayed the most perfect refinement, and especially in his taste for literature. In this department, had he so inclined, he would doubtless himself have won distinction, as was shown by the ode which he penned for the occasion of the golden wedding of Mr Billings' parents in 1867. His domestic life was an ideal one; in the family circle no angry word ever fell from his lips, and to each member of that family their home was the happiest spot on earth. For the poor he had always a helping hand, and especially for poor relatives; for while catholic in his charity, he believed in the good old maxim that charity begins at home. Mrs Billings' mother was a native of Charleston, South Carolina, and having the misfortune to lose her own mother in infancy, was reared in the family of friends, to whom she was as a daughter, requiting their care with filial duty and affection.

Of Mrs Billings herself it will only be said that while her culture and refinement were in thorough keeping with her husband's character, she was one to whom all other cares gave way to the cares of her family and household. With her husband also she shared deep religious sentiments, his devotion to the cause he loved so well, his broad and unobtrusive charity. Of their seven children two have already

passed away, the eldest son, Parmly, a native of San Francisco, in 1888, and the third, Elhrick, in the following year. The latter was a young man of seventeen, one possessed of a philosophical temperament, and of rare maturity of thought. It was on account of his failing health that, in 1887, the family made a trip to California, but without avail. Between him and his father there existed a most beautiful and touching affection, and there can be little doubt that the loss of his two sons, within so brief an interval, hastened his own end. In the order of their birth, Laura, Frederick, Mary, Elizabeth, and Richard are the names of those who remain.

In less than two years after his marriage Mr Billings closed up his affairs in San Francisco, and in 1864 settled himself in the picturesque village of Woodstock. In 1869 he purchased the homestead of Charles Marsh, the father of George P. Marsh, together with its adjoining estate, one of the most beautiful in the state of Vermont. The residence he twice rebuilt, and, says the historian of Woodstock, "he went on making additions and improvements, till at length in the extent of territory, in the variety and orderly arrangements of the various parts of this wide domain, and in the convenience and elegance of the buildings erected thereon, his home resembled one of the baronial estates of the old world, and was not surpassed in these respects, and in beauty of situation, by any similar establishment in New England."

To this home, whenever the cares of business permitted, he returned on each occasion with a greater relish, and perhaps among all the titles which he held, as president or trustee of some of the most powerful corporations in the world, there were none that pleased him so much as that of Frederick Billings of Woodstock. Here was everthing needed for the entertainment of his guests, as welcome as they were numerous, and nowhere else could be witnessed greater

hospitality. And yet it was in the company of his wife and children that his heart found most content. Never was there a more affectionate husband and father; never a more devoted son, nor one more careful to provide for his parents every comfort that thought could devise. Especially between himself and his mother there was a bond of attachment such as is seldom witnessed in this relationship. She was a woman of noble characteristics, partaking indeed of the heroic, one of those strong, energetic women who have given to New England so many of the great ones of the earth. While an admirable manager, keeping in perfect order, from cellar to attic, everything that her household contained, she was yet a woman of culture, well read, and a brilliant conversationalist. To her influence Mr Billings was ever loyal, and from her he inherited his strength of purpose, his promptness of action, and above all his religious faith. It was, as I have said, at one time his intention to prepare himself for the ministry, and from this he was only prevented by the death of his eldest brother, thus leaving him to provide in part for the support of the family. With his first savings he purchased for them a pleasant home in Woodstock, and thenceforth left nothing undone that would insure their comfort. "Mother," he said, when about to set forth for California, "you shall hear from me constantly unless my right hand becomes paralyzed."

It was a peaceful and happy life which Mr Billings led in his Woodstock home, one in which the only fault was, that in his earnest desire for the happiness of others, he assumed too many cares and responsibilities.

On his estate he might be seen working side by side with his men, in the spring planting the hills with trees, which he set out by the hundred. Forestry he studied from the writings of George P. Marsh, especially as to the climatic changes caused by the devastation of forests. By his example the neighboring

farmers were induced to preserve their woodlands, and themselves to plant with trees their barren hill-sides. In the management of his farm he brought to bear the same faculty of organization that he had displayed in the control of railroads, or in the conduct of lawsuits. In everything he was a thorough man, an exact man, and whatsoever his hand found to do he did with all his might, never resting satisfied with anything short of the best. Even when his task was so accomplished as to satisfy his own critical judgment, if any improvement suggested itself, he spared neither time nor expense in carrying it out.

A man of such intensity of nature could not be otherwise than a leader of men; nor, while utterly free from all self-conceit, did he fail to be conscious of his own powers, to hold them in just appreciation, and to entertain for himself that self-respect without which no one can gain the respect of others. Above all things he detested shams of whatever kind, and when he saw men living a fictitious life, appearing before the world, or attempting to appear, other than they were, he did not hesitate, when occasion required, to give reproof as keen as the surgeon's blade. And yet there were none more ready to apologize for a hasty expression, even though well deserved, and to make amends to the person aggrieved. Kindness of heart was one of the distinguishing traits of his character, and even during his last illness, whenever he heard of a case of distress, he would forget his own sufferings while instructing wife or daughter to send relief. To supply the needs of others was to him a privilege rather than a burden, and while esteemed for the number and magnitude of his charities, he was none the less esteemed for the spirit in which they were bestowed.

To the few survivors among our California pioneers the face and figure of Mr Billings are already familiar. Some five feet ten inches in stature, in youth he was of slender build, though becoming somewhat portly

as he advanced in years. His features were massive, but well proportioned, and regular in contour, with broad expansive brow, and the head, upward from the ears, of unusual width, its formation indicating power, stability of character, and intellectuality. His expression was pleasing, attractive, and magnetic. His nature was the reverse of combative, and of all things he dreaded a controversy, though once drawn into it he would never fail to hold his own. From political conflicts he always withdrew, even where his friends were involved. Thus when his law partner, A. C. Peachy, was a candidate for Congress, causing no little derangement in the business of his office, he took refuge in the country until the election was over.

But with all his zeal and earnestness of character, Mr Billings was by no means given to austerity. On the contrary, he was somewhat luxurious in his habits, and by no means averse to a rational enjoyment of the good things of life. When a bachelor—and he did not marry until his thirty-ninth year—he was fond of his club and of club life, of its comforts and sociability, and was accustomed to entertain with hearty and lavish hospitality. His cordiality, ready wit, and brilliant conversation made him a delightful host.

And now we must take our leave of one, over the simple record of whose life his biographer fain would linger. Coming to these shores with the argonauts, and leaving them with the deepest regret, for more than a quarter of a century he was a prominent figure in several of the national enterprises for which the age is memorable. During all these years he labored incessantly, and never could he find relief from the grievous load of his responsibilities; for such men are rare and their place cannot readily be filled, men who, with the faculty to organize, combine also the ability to execute. But while directing some of the greatest financial and railroad enterprises of the age, his time and thoughts were required also for other purposes,

as for the control of church committees, for affairs relating to education, to charity, to science and art, to politics, and to many other matters, in all of which he was as much at home as in the conduct of his own business. No wonder that he died younger than might have been expected of a man of his vigorous constitution. There are men who in their lifetime can accomplish the work of several lives ; and such a man was Frederick Billings.

For many years Mr Billings had been suffering from heart disease, and from other ailments caused by the strain on his nervous system, and by the stress of overwork. At length, so infirm became his health that only by careful dieting, by retiring early, and avoiding all social gatherings, could he preserve such a measure of strength as would enable him to perform his daily task. Thus for a time he remained at his post, until on Christmas eve of 1889 he was stricken with paralysis. Still for many months he lingered, and early in the following summer there were even faint hopes of his recovery. But as the summer faded into autumn his vital powers declined, and he suffered intensely from angina pectoris. At length, on the evening of September 30, 1890, he quietly passed away, with the resignation and fortitude of a Christian.

In "the old white meeting house," or rather in the structure which Mr Billings had erected in its place, the funeral obsequies were held, in the presence of such an audience as had never before been assembled in the quiet village of Woodstock. Among them were the president and several of the trustees and faculty of the university of Vermont; leading officials of the Northern Pacific and other railroads, and a number of prominent men, not only from Vermont, but from every section of the eastern states. After the opening hymn, an invocation was delivered by the Reverend Moses Kidder, followed by a second hymn and reading of scripture by the pastor of the church.

Then came an eloquent and touching address from Doctor Buckham, president of the university, who selected as his text the passage from the second book of Samuel: "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

"Standing here to-day," he said, "by the coffin of Mr Billings, not to perform the duties of pastor to people, but rather to speak among friends of a friend whom we have all loved, I shall not restrict myself to the forms of funeral discourse, but shall give free voice to those feelings of affection and grief of which all our hearts are full. Let friendship have her first, natural, impulsive outburst; with calmness, reflection, and sober reminiscence, let religion afterwards bring her solemn teachings. Do not think that these scripture words herald an elaborate eulogy. Nothing is farther from my intention, as nothing could be farther from his wishes, or from the quiet and simple ordering of this service. Eulogy will have a fitting place on some other occasion. And rarely has eulogy a worthier theme than that occasion will furnish. Many voices will mingle in it. Commerce, enterprise, art, learning, charity, patriotism, religion, all will claim the right to be heard, and to add their several notes to the full harmony of the strain. But ours to-day is a humbler and yet a tenderer and more sacred office. We, his friends, yeu, his neighbors and townsmen, the men and women who have grown up with him, who knew him in days of youth and hardship, and whom with growing affection he has loved in his days of prosperity and ripened manhood, we have gathered here in this church which he built in loving memory of the fathers and mothers, his and yours, whose piety was dear to him and to you, we have gathered here, not to speak and to hear such stately words of well-deserved praise as of others none could speak so well as he, but to talk to one another in homely, heartfelt praise of the friend we have lost; to solace our grief by recounting the virtues which endeared him to us; to give utterance to those feelings of admiration, of gratitude, of love, which both nature and religion encourage in us; and then as Christians, with Christian submission, and faith, and hope, to lay his body by the bodies of his parents, and his children, and his townsmen of many generations, in that beautiful spot where many of you will also in due time be gathered to him and to his fathers and yours. Thus I know, and you know, he would have bid me speak. And though, as one of old, it is hard to set limits to our feelings for such a man, I shall hope not to offend that gentle and modest spirit whose presence is all about us to-day.

"I trust now, that it is strictly in keeping with all this, to say that this verse of scripture not only describes him most aptly as I conceive of him, but will commend itself to you all as well-chosen and appropriate. How many times has it already been said of him, in his lifetime, he was a princely man, a man of royal character, and kingly actions. It is not necessary to describe what we mean by these expressions. There is a type of character, large, magnanimous, not free from faults but free from petty faults, Abraham not Isaac, Job not the three friends, Luther not Erasmus, to whom we all with one consent award the sceptre, and to whose sceptre we willingly bow. The coming of these men where and when they do, is the mystery of providence. Happy the people to whom they come. Happy and proud the city, or more likely the little country town, in which they spring up, and which they render forever memorable. Mr Billings belonged to this type of men. Without claiming for him comparison with the men alluded to, we may confidently say of him that he was of their mould. Like his own house on the hill overtopping with unpretentious and benignant superiority all the other houses of the village, so he towers above the rest of us in native magnitude and force of character. And one very interesting thing about this eminence is that while nobody ever questioned it, I believe

nobody ever resented it. I doubt if the man lives who ever grudged Mr Billings his natural superiority—mark that it was real and not a fictitious superiority, that God has set his own seal on him to give the world assurance of a man.

"I note this princely character first in his endowments. In his intellectual, his emotional, his moral, his executive qualities, he was a gifted man, and his gifts were of the large and royal kind. One of the baffling problems of God's moral government is the diversity in human endowments. The psalmist was perplexed with the difference in men's circumstances; much more perplexing, because seemingly more unequal and arbitrary, is the difference in their gifts. It is so easy for one man and so very hard for another to do and to be what all men like to do and to be. But however hard it may be to reconcile ourselves to this fact, it is open to us to make this good use of it: we can dwell with generous gratitude upon the existence of these wonderful gifts. If we are not gifted, somebody else is, and his gifts greater and glorify the whole humanity of which we are a part. And this is comparatively easy when the gifts in question are made gracious by being enveloped in a winning moral character, when they do not issue in mere intellectual cleverness, but in the large-mindedness and large-heartedness of the man who is gifted on all sides of his nature.

"You will all agree with me that Mr Billings had great emotional gifts. He was richly endowed in the region of the affections. He had the capacity for deep and strong love for kindred, for friends, for good men and women, for home, and country, and God. His susceptibilities were quick and tender. He was easily stirred to enthusiasm by the sight or the thought of anything noble or lovely; and correspondingly intense was his power of indignation against anything unworthy or wrong. Herein lay the secret of his marvellous oratory.

"Probably no man that our state has ever produced, and few men of our time, had such power to arouse and move and sway the hearts of an audience as Mr Billings had. It may have been that this part of his nature was in excess—that his vehement and passionate affections urged him into utterances and activities that were too great a strain upon his physical powers. But it was no more possible for him to restrain and silence those ardent sympathies and antipathies, and to be calm and impassive, than it is for another man to call into exercise emotions which he has not, and to glow and burn with affection when he ought. I can imagine that with a less fervid temperament he might have lived ten years longer; but I cannot imagine that he would have consented to live a day longer by being untrue to that warm, loving, affectionate nature which God had given him, and which was as vital a part of him as the blood in his veins.

"Mr Billings was great and princely also in his activities and enterprises. Most men soon come to the limit of their abilities. Up to a certain point they grow with their occupation and succeed in it. But sooner or later there comes a time when the event, the complication of business, the case in court, the monetary crisis, is too large for the man, and ruins him. Then it is that the great man shows himself. He grows with events and always outgrows them. By dint of struggling with a great enterprise he becomes great in capacity and power. Numerous and towering obstacles which daunt other men rouse and hearten him. Continental enterprises can be carried through only by men who have, so to speak, continental abilities. Such abilities, without room for question, Mr Billings possessed. Of the great projects in the business world with which he was connected, and in which his part was always that of the daring and masterful executive head and will, it is not in place now to speak. But it is very significant that having signalized his business career by carrying to completion a great transcontinental railway he should in his last years have become deeply interested in the latest project for an interoceanic canal, and have sighed because he was not still in his 40th or 50th year, that he might have pushed that also to a successful result. What such a man might have accomplished in some of the innumerable pos-

sibilities which still await the man of power to conceive and execute, if he could have had twenty years more of physical vigor, the vigor which other men of the same age will have to spend upon trivialities, it almost takes away one's breath to imagine.

"Again, Mr Billings was princely, yes, royal, in his munificence. This also has been said of him a thousand times, and is for that reason the more impressive when we say it here to-day. And though many and many others may say and do say this of him, none have a better reason for saying it than you and I—than I, who say it daily with gratitude to God whose special grace it is that makes one the liberal and cheerful giver whom the Lord loveth, and whom all men love. A nobler gift, a gift more benign and beautiful in every feature and aspect of it, than that which Mr Billings has made to his alma mater, no most affectionate and devoted son ever made or could make. And you, in order to be reminded of his munificence, you have only to look around you. This church and the adjoining chapel, his spontaneous and unsolicited gift to this church, his offering rather to filial piety and the worship of God, and the saving gospel of Jesus Christ, this tells you better than any words can tell, in language through which he being dead yet speaketh and will long speak to you, what a joy he had in giving and spending that others may be helped and lifted up and saved. But his was not only the munificence that poured out its bounty in splendid largesses here and there; his also was the hand that scattered benefits every day like the gentle rain upon the place beneath. Not the fewest in number, nor the least sincere of those who mourn to-day, will be those whose prayers for daily bread have been answered through Mr Billings' thoughtful and watchful kindness.

"And now it only remains to say that Mr Billings was a prince in his faith. It is characteristic of a large-minded and large-hearted man to have full faith in truth, in goodness, in good men, and most of all in God. A timid, distrustful, suspicious spirit, which challenges every appeal to its confidence, and guards every concession with minute and elaborate and subtle reservations, such a temper belongs to feeble souls and small natures. A true man is faithful to his own trusts, and that makes it easy for him to believe that other men are faithful, and that God is supremely faithful. For what is religious faith but believing that God is faithful, and committing one's soul to him in well doing as unto a faithful creator? I am not sure that Mr Billings' faith in God was not uninterrupted and serene. Indeed, I believe that God's discipline does not attain its highest beneficence without bringing one's faith sometimes to that point of tension at which doubt begins. But I am sure that out of every such trial his faith became stronger and purer and simpler. He must have often remembered his own question to his dear Ehrick, as to what he thought about during his lonely and sleepless hours, and the heroic reply of the little philosopher, that he thought 'about the problems of life,' and the cheerful faith which prompted him to write on the margin of a magazine which had been left with him, 'the future is all right,' and have prayed that he might have the child's faith. And we believe that he did have it; that this long period of bodily disability and mental clearness helped him to attain to a higher degree of it; that suffering instead of obscuring served to brighten and refine it; and that in his last days, as never before, he humbled himself and became as a little child, and entered into the kingdom of Heaven with a child's unquestioning, unreserved, contented faith. And so this energetic, untiring spirit, which esteemed 'nothing done if aught remained to do,' which was inclined to blame itself first, if there was failure anywhere, settled calmly down into that confiding acquiescence which knows whom it believes, and that he is able to keep that which is committed to him, and rests itself and all dear to it, lovingly in the arms of God."

On its conclusion, a prayer was offered by Doctor Van Dyke, who afterward remarked of the deceased:

“While his was a full, strong, successful life, the best thing about it and the greatest was that he had the grace of God in his heart.” A third hymn was sung, commencing with the line, “O, holy Savior, friend unseen”; the benediction was pronounced by the Reverend J. F. Brodie, and then, in the quiet churchyard of Woodstock, overshadowed by the eternal hills, whose autumnal glories were radiant with the beams of the noon-day sun, the remains of Frederick Billings were laid at rest.

In truth, a great man and a prince had fallen in Israel, few better or purer have passed from the scene of their earthly labors to enter on their reward. In the record of his life will be found an example that cannot fail to reproduce itself, and to make better the lives of others by its beauty, its graces, and its inspiration. Not for his wealth, not for his worldly success, or for the exalted rank which he held among those whom the world delights to honor, but for his noble, Christian manliness; for his devotion to the cause of his country, to the cause of God, to the benefits he has conferred on mankind, will the name of Frederick Billings be held in lasting esteem.

CHAPTER III.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN AMERICA.

DAWN OF THE LATER AGE—SPAIN AND HER HISTORY—POTENTATES AND POPES—EXTENSION OF DISCOVERY—A NEW WORLD FOUND—HOT AND COLD CLIMATES AS CIVILIZERS—INDIGENOUS AMERICAN CULTURE—SPANIARDS IN THE NEW WORLD—KINGCRAFT AND PRIESTCRAFT—THE MIDDLE AGES IN CENTRAL AMERICA—THREE CENTURIES OF DEAD ACTIVITIES—MEDIEVAL MEXICO—LIFE OF BENITO JUAREZ—REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD OF MEXICO AND SUBSEQUENTLY—THE INDIAN BOY OF OAJACA—LAWYER, GOVERNOR, CHIEF JUSTICE, AND PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC—STRUGGLE FOR INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY—PRONUNCIAMIENTOS AND PRINCIPLES—FRENCH INTERVENTION—FIRMNESS OF JUAREZ UNDER TRIALS—FAILURE AND DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN—LATER MEASURES—CLOSE OF A GLORIOUS CAREER.

THUS far we have considered the elements of domination throughout the world of matter and of mind, glancing first at the forces inherent in nature, then following the pathway of human development from the earliest historic record to the exaltation of western Europe prior to the period of trans-Atlantic discovery. We will now cross this Sea of Darkness, and continue the same line of thought as we enter upon the somewhat more specific illustrations demanded by the subject in relation to America, and particularly to the latest developed portions of the continent.

At the dawn of the modern era of development, when saltpetre, movable types, and the magnetic needle appeared to aid man in casting off the mediæval fetters, the Iberian peninsula stood foremost in enterprising achievements, particularly in starting anew the soul-stirring migrations of the Aryan race. For this it was well adapted, both by political supremacy

and geographic position. Its people possessed the ambition, hardihood, and energy instilled by long and victorious campaigns, which had left in them a thirst for fresh conquests, and for adventure beyond the narrow limits of their horizon, while far to the west and south was an unswept sea, challenging investigation.

They were a strong race, these Spaniards, before degeneration set in, even though their vigor was less enduring than susceptible of a momentary but extreme tension of will and nerve; their origin a mixture of probably aboriginal Turanians with different Aryan races leavened with Phœnician and Carthaginian colonists, and especially with Roman conquerors, who left the impress of their language and customs upon the people. Then poured in the Teuton hordes to check incipient culture and corrupt the language. An upland region, broken by mountains, kept apart the native tribes, and fostered a diversity of traits, and a heterogeneity which opened the way for invasion and subjugation by the Mohammedans. In the north-western Pyrenees, liberty and a remnant of the old nationality were nursed by heroes like Pelayo, and gradually, with dismemberment, and a flagging warrior spirit among the Moors, they pressed outward to regain the lost ground, breaking the strength of the foe at Tolosa early in the thirteenth century, and finally by the capture of Granada terminating a contest of eight centuries.

It was an anomalous race, a medley of Christian, Moslem, and Jew, of infidel and believer; the Christian with his sombre garb and proselyting tendencies, the Mohammedan with his fanaticism and his seclusion of women, and the Jew with his ancient faith and customs, and his eager enterprise. Pastoral life, so widely prevalent, imparted a tendency to roaming and adventure; the long fight for liberty had fostered a sense of equality, as well as obstinacy and cruelty, the latter being kept alive by the inquisition, bull-baiting, and other bloody entertainments. Successful

reconquests had brought forth a large class of nobles, with the attendant pride of rank and chivalry, the former restrained within the bounds of a punctiliousness enforced by the wide claim to hidalgoship. In course of time, the Castilian stepped to the front as the leader in arms, his preëminence being also displayed in more refined speech and manners.

Such was the nation which during the sixteenth century extended its sway over half the world, but only to decline through the enervation of wealth and indolence, aided by ignorance and superstition.

Portugal lay nearest the ocean, into which adjacent Africa and its isles lured her mariners, under the leadership of Prince Henry, a noble embodiment of the dawning revival in lofty speculation, and love for science and adventure. Notwithstanding the timidity of dimly-lighted intelligence, manifested here by the slow advance of navigation, ships were surely approaching that turning point round Africa which, before the close of the sixteenth century, was to lead the Portuguese to golden fields.

With less practical enterprise, and absorbed by campaigns against the Moors and the consolidation of her empire, Spain might have remained far behind her neighbor, but for the ripeness of time pressing to the front a great instrument to guide her people into fresh paths. In the aspiring nature of Columbus, strengthened by studies and struggles in knowledge, the budding idea of the sphericity of the earth found an active champion. This idea grew, and became intensified under the morbid broodings of genius, and a belief in divine instrumentality, exciting a fervid desire to find a sea route to the Indies by sailing westward. After many rebuffs, jealousy and avarice at length induced Ferdinand and Isabella to grant him a hearing. Their coöperation gained. Columbus had yet to overcome the obstacles raised by the superstitious dread of unknown dangers. But the enthusiast triumphed. A new continent was dis-

closed, which afforded fresh pastures for Europe's surplus population. The pope presumed, indeed, to divide it between Spain and Portugal, but England and others chose to help themselves to portions, therein to plant the germ of ennobling liberty.

The desire to colonize was with the Spaniards secondary to the appetite for gold and lands, with dominion over the natives. Gold, with the watchwords glory and godliness, was the incentive which led to enterprise, to fresh discoveries of isles and continental shores, and to the attendant pacifications, as conquest was called. Colonization, nevertheless, found encouragement in connection with the traffic which sprang up with the aborigines. The docility and feebleness of the natives led to their oppression, with enforced labor upon their own soil. The collection of taxes authorized by the government, and the mandate to convert and civilize them, were the legal excuse for planting *encomiendas*, under which the Indians were reduced to serfdom. As the slaves thus made cost nothing, the taskmasters hesitated not upon the slightest provocation freely to shed the blood of beings to whom a soul was conceded chiefly through the influence of religion and lust; for if the savages had not souls, they were beasts, and outside the pale both of piety and prostitution.

Las Casas signalized himself as the apostle of the Indies, but in his pity for the savages, he blindly lent himself to the introduction of the hardier negro slaves. The less favorable prospects of Africa as a missionary field, where the Mohammedans held the advantage, withdrew from the black man Christian sympathy. This and other selfish measures of Spain bore bitter fruit in the ultimate loss of nearly all of her American provinces.

The Spaniards in their discoveries first encountered land in tropical America, and their possessions and operations were for the most part round that centre,

though extending over both continents far to the south and to the north. But however favorable a hot climate may be as a cradle for infant civilization, temperate climates develop a more vigorous race, both in body and mind. The south basks in prolific sunshine, but the north rules. Nevertheless, such conditions partake more or less of the artificial and temporary, rather than of the natural and stable. Transplantation can be successful only within certain limits. The highest culture, modern as well as ancient, develops best in the open air; witness the most remarkable of all migrations, that to southern California to-day,—a migration, not of poor adventurers for land, or gold, or furs, but of the wealthy and refined, for a warm, dry climate, with healthful surroundings. Avarice no longer rules supreme in America, but other influences are at work, with promises of a higher and purer culture. There are three causes why Canada is so slow to develop: the climate is cold, the people do not kill off their savages, and nobody can be a man until he lets loose his hold on his mother's apron-strings.

A country yielding in abundance and variety the staples of life must become the seat of a large population, unless there are present counteracting causes. That the table-lands of Central America and Mexico are suited to the wants of civilization has already been demonstrated. There lived the Mayas and the Nahuas, each with an indigenous culture far above any other upon the continent of North America. That the level of humanity is so low in these sections at the present time is owing to several causes. First, the mongrel race: the Indians were not killed off as in the United States, but were allowed to mix their blood with that of the rapidly deteriorating Spaniards, who to this day have held the mastery, grinding into the dust the weak and powerless, and preventing the rise of a sturdy and intelligent middle class, which must ever be the bulwark of a nation. Add to this

the withering effect of a religion whose tenets were all opposed to free thought and intellectual advancement, and we have cause enough why the people are debased, mentally and morally. That as a nation they are no more enterprising, commercially and industrially, is due in a measure to the miasmatic border, which checks maritime enterprise, and renders life and industry on the seaboard to a great extent impossible.

Mexico, situated under the tropics, though at such elevation in her vast interior as to be outside of the miasmatic levels, and to be blessed with light and pure airs, has a climate at once uniform and diversified. The temperature of any locality is almost always the same; but several localities present a large number of different temperatures. Comparatively speaking, there is but little difference between winter and summer, except that one is dry and the other wet. On the border are always found the *tierras calientes*, hot, damp, insalubrious, with their fertile soil impregnated with a superabundance of decayed vegetable matter, and with the air soft, voluptuous, febrile, tempting to indolence and repose. Up upon the cold levels may be found every possible degree of temperature. Rain is common in the eastern slope throughout the year, though more abundant in winter. In regard to Central America, the climate on the Atlantic coast is mostly insalubrious; that of the Pacific coast much better in every respect, the heat being less oppressive, because the atmosphere is drier and purer. Hence the latter is lined with towns and settlements, while the former is almost uninhabited. The average temperature of Guatemala city is 72° , Vera Paz being 10° warmer. In the highlands, there is a lower temperature than in any other part of Central America, and the people are noted for their energy. Salvador has a higher temperature than Guatemala and Honduras, but the heat is oppressive only in some portions of the coast. Honduras has a fine climate, except on the Atlantic coast. Nicaragua, apart from

Segovia, which borders on Honduras, has an average temperature in the lake regions of 80°. In Costa Rica there is almost every degree of temperature desired, from the intense heat of Punta Arenas to the constant spring of San José, or the perpetual autumn of the belt above Cartago. Properly speaking, there is no dry season on the Atlantic coast of Central America. From June to December, the Pacific slope has its season of brief rains. No portion of the earth presents a greater diversity of contour, on an equal extent of surface, or a greater variety of climate. An unbroken chain of mountains, at least to Nicaragua lake, covered with diversified vegetation, connects the Andes and the Rocky mountains. On the slopes and summits are fine table-lands, some of them very extensive, and all exceedingly fertile. Most of the highest summits are volcanoes.

We see that generous nature provides in these countries not only the staples for food and raiment, but likewise the means of recreation and unlimited instruction. There is hardly any occupation out of which an energetic and intelligent man with some capital may not derive profit. Take agriculture, for instance; throw away the old sticks the natives have used from pre-conquest times to scratch the ground with, bring modern ploughs into play, and the difference will soon be apparent in increased production. The same may be said of every other industry in the lines of manufacture and trade. The natives are industrious, well disposed, and possess facility to learn. But they must be taught the better methods.

It was predestined that America should be conquered by European monarchies, and held in dependency by them. The Latin races of southern Europe took Central and South America. Those of northern Europe came a century later for their share of New World territory, and appropriated to themselves the northern regions. It was equally predestined that this America should not remain forever harnessed to

those monarchies. The Spanish-American colonies were ruled upon somewhat contradictory principles and blind traditions; with selfish preferences for the mother country and those born therein; but in the early part of the present century seeds were sown of political and ecclesiastical reform, which were to bear good fruit. The division of the people into castes is an obstacle to progress. In the empires of the world this is the corner-stone of despotism.

With the independence of colonies came republican institutions, recognizing personal liberty, freedom of thought, no less than national independence. These principles were proclaimed long before the people could appreciate them, but in course of time they will better understand them. American institutions are therefore no longer in danger from abroad. Nor have they stopped here; they have been felt by the people of Europe, who are fast throwing off their effete ideas, and enforcing their rights as freemen. The danger to be most apprehended lies at home, in excessive prosperity, overweening pride, and too much confidence in our own powers to detect and ward off dangers. Much can be done to counteract conceit and ignorance, but they will continue to be the foes of our new civilization.

In studying causes and effects in Mexico and Central America, we must not lose sight of the difficulties which have beset their people in the task of consolidating their political institutions, and developing their material interests. In strong contrast with the immigrants who settled in the regions now embraced in the United States of America, and who were wont to work with their own hands, thus becoming producers, the Spanish settlers compelled the aborigines to work for them, and were therefore consumers without being producers. Prior to the war of secession from the mother country, much more than at the present time, there were only two classes, masters and serfs, the former ruling over and living by the

labor of the latter. This state of things continued for years after the independence, leaving the impress of ignorant servility, in which the masses had been held for centuries, vividly stamped on the character of the poorer classes. Nevertheless, a change for the better is seen in later years, and is constantly gaining ground, as a result of the diffusion of light through the common schools. Hence a greater degree of contentment and a consequent greater difficulty in arousing public disturbances. Anything like perfection in the administration of government has not been reached, but rulers now acknowledge themselves, in pretence at least, to be the servants of the people, and appreciate the fullness of their responsibilities; while, on the other hand, the masses, having availed themselves to some extent of the facilities afforded for acquiring instruction, manifest a greater interest in public affairs, from those of the municipality to the administration of the supreme executive government. Better men are called to the front, and there is hardly a chance left for Santa Annas, Carreras, or other dictators or despots.

The church from the old colonial times had been clothed with privileges, owing to the exemplary labors in some respects, of its founders, and the missionaries retained until recent times a great influence with the masses. Had it used its power for good, the blessings it might have conferred are incalculable: but unfortunately, like all human powers, in time the clergy degenerated, became worldly, caring more for their privileges and rights than for the good of souls. Religion in Mexico was chiefly external ceremonies, adoration of images, processions, and other spectacles. The old pagan and idolatrous practices were not wholly done away with, and new ones had been introduced which brought shekels to the clergy. Hence an indifference toward religion prevailed in the educated, and even in the semi-educated, classes. The church being leagued with the state, the

priests controlled temporal as well as spiritual affairs, using the government as a tool; in which pretension they were generally upheld by despots of the Santa Anna type, and by the ignorant and fanatical masses. The people at last opened their eyes to the fact that the true interests of religion and good government demanded that the ministers of the former should no longer interfere in secular affairs. The struggle was long, and costly, both in blood and treasure, but the good cause triumphed, and church and state were separated, to the improvement of both, religion being better preserved from vicious practices, the church being purer, while the state is showing how judicious was its action in that direction by paying due attention to sanitary laws, asylums, hospitals, etc.

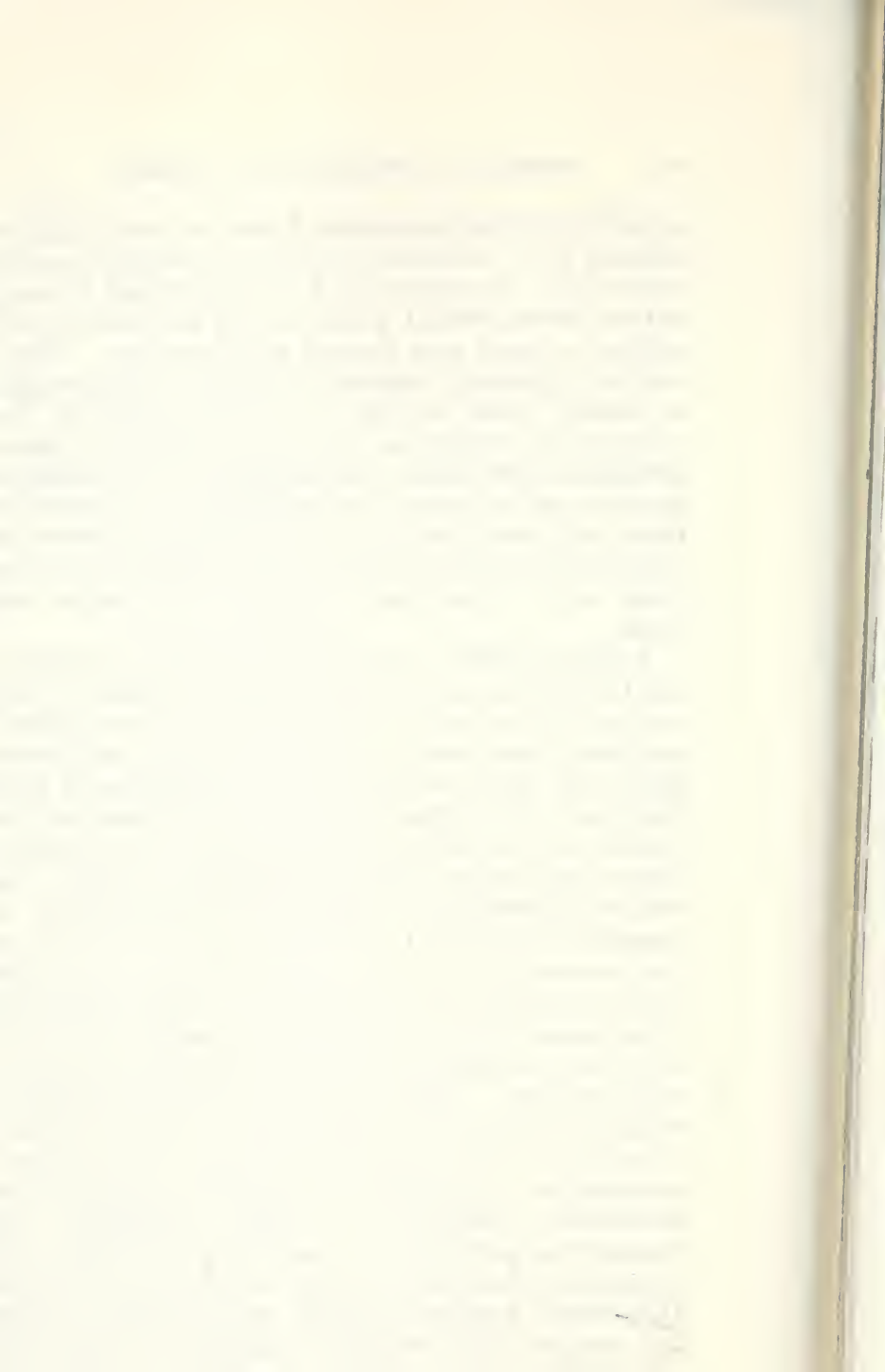
The impulse given to industries and trade, especially by the facilities of transportation, telegraphic lines, and other material improvements, has tended to render labor honorable, affording a greater variety of occupations, suited to individual taste and fitness, and increasing compensation, thus heightening ambition to excel, and bringing within the reach of the intelligent and industrious comforts of which they were formerly deprived.

Mining is still one of the great industries of Mexico, and to a limited extent of Central America. During the Spanish domination, immense quantities of precious metals were taken out, the industry being the life of the country. It afforded labor, though poorly requited, for many thousands of natives; it was the supporter of agriculture in the vicinity of the mines, of some manufacturing, and of transportation of supplies to the mining camps, and of the metal to the ports of exportation. Most of the products of the mines went to Spain, the real benefit to Mexico being small, and to Spain not much more. Before she began to receive the enormous products of the American mines, Spain was a manufacturing country, but with



the influx of precious metals, labor and every kind of industry grew vexatious; men became indolent, proud, and foolish. Foreigners had to be permitted to bring in their manufactured goods, to pay for which Spain and her colonies were drained of their specie. However, it is generally expected that some of the benefits of mining when carried on by the people of the country, will remain at home, in the form of better developed agriculture and commerce, of dwellings, gardens, and orchards; the establishment of manufactories and foundries, and of everything conducive to progress and wealth, all providing comforts of life for those who industriously employ their brains and hands.

A large portion of the poorer classes of Mexico and Central America occupy a peculiar position; they are not slaves, nor are they free; they are neither positively progressive, nor absolutely stationary. Still they are now more free and progressive than they have ever before been since the coming of the Spaniards, and their development is more healthful than it was for a time immediately succeeding the war of independence. During the three centuries of Spanish domination, the government and clergy kept the masses in ignorance and inaction. Now they have more light and more liberty. In the education of the masses lies their brightest prospects, but their development, intellectually and politically must necessarily be slow. Education means elevation; it is the strength of a nation, which alone will save it from internecine wars, foreign invasions, and other destructive dangers. To climate are attributed many of the drawbacks experienced by these countries; but climate has not been the only factor. Civil wars have been often fomented by the mestizo element. This shows, however, that the people have vivacity and energy, which should be guided in the right direction and to better purposes. The mestizos have existed as an element of population so many centuries,



that they may rightly be considered as practically indigenous. The Indians are patient, laborious, and rather intelligent. Their capabilities are revealed in many ways, and especially in the talented men emerging from their ranks. The white creoles, while they live comparatively isolated from the outward world, entertain the conceit of their own excellence and superiority, but even these are of late improving.

The general conclusion to be drawn from a study of the Mexicans and Central Americans under the influence of their institutions, and of their frequent contact with other nationalities resulting from education and facilities of communication, is that they have reached a point where progress is a necessity. With the natural increase of an industrious native population, and a judicious encouragement of the immigration of a desirable class, the vast resources of these countries will in the near future be utilized for their own advantage, and the advantage of the world.

Spanish occupation of the northern portions of Mexico was not attended with that rapid growth of a civilized population which marked the possession by the white race of the territories in the south. Two causes operated against the possibility of these regions being thickly inhabited, namely, the nature of the country, and the obstinate hostility of the natives. Arid wastes, and streamless deserts intersected by systems of bare and rugged mountains seamed with dark ravines, were not inviting features of nature; and had it not been for the Spaniards' ceaseless search for the precious metals, their occupancy of this land would probably have been confined to a few missions and military posts. But in the bowels of these stern sierras, gold and silver lay hidden in marvellous abundance, and could not escape the scrutiny of the explorers. Settlement followed discovery, and sparsely scattered towns sprang up in the neighborhood of rich mines, Durango being the gateway.

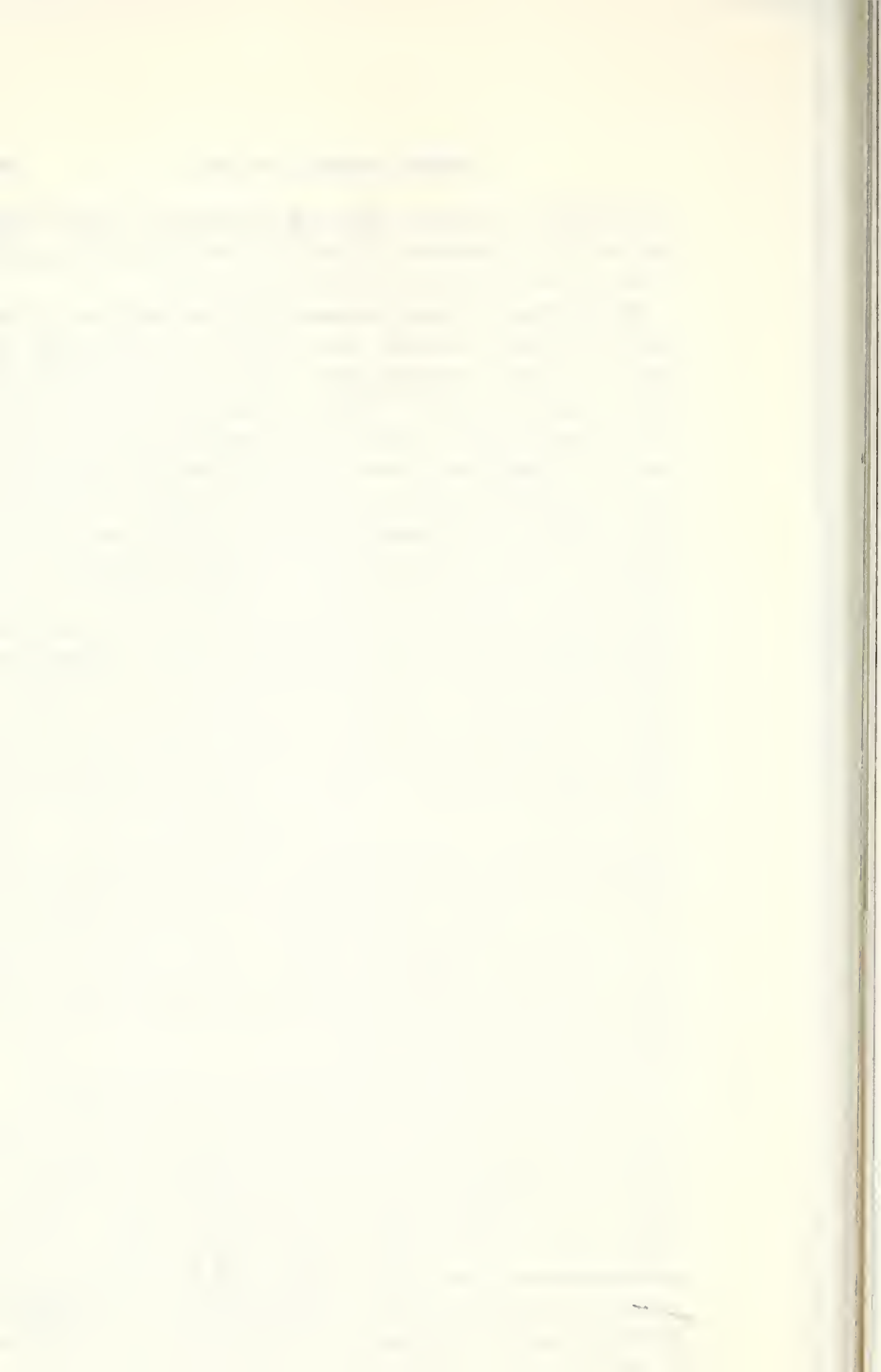
Nor must it be understood that there were no localities favorable to colonization in this vast region; on the contrary, there were well-watered, fertile valleys, where agriculture could be carried on with success, and rich grazing lands of vast extent, on which, in time, herds of cattle were pastured. Mining and agriculture advanced together, the latter being a consequence of the former. Thus these provinces acquired in time such importance, that toward the close of the eighteenth century their government was made independent of the viceroy, and Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya—now Chihuahua and Durango—New Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas were formed into the *Provincias Internas* under the separate government of a *comandante-general* responsible to the king of Spain alone.

During the colonial period the savages made no great headway against the intruders on their domains, and though many bloody encounters took place, they were compelled to retire before the steady advance of the whites, who came mostly from Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia, and their Mexican followers. But after Mexico had gained her independence, and became distracted by civil war, the North Mexican States were left, to some extent, to take care of themselves. Then the savages sallied from their homes in unexplored regions and became the assailants. Favored by the long distances intervening between the populated settlements, and the weakness of the country ranchos, they desolated extensive districts in Chihuahua and northern Sonora, killing, destroying, and driving off cattle. Their depredations were continued for decades, and were even carried into Durango and Zacatecas. During this struggle for supremacy, the vicinities of large towns were raided, mines and settlements were abandoned, haciendas devastated, and whole regions depopulated, as the whites were thrust back from point to point. But when Mexico emerged from her chronic condition of

civil strife, under the able administration of her late rulers, the murderous Apaches were swept from the land, and the lost ground was recovered.

While Sonora was harassed by the natives in the north, repeated trouble was caused in the south by the nominally subjugated Yaquis, who frequently broke out in revolt. Their most prominent leader was Juan Ignacio Juzucanea, better known by the name of Banderas, from a banner borne by him, and which he represented as having belonged to Montezuma. This chief, though small in stature and of unprepossessing countenance, was gifted with rare eloquence and great administrative ability, which made him the most influential leader in his nation. Led by this chieftain, the Yaquis during 1825-7 waged war against the whites, practically gaining their independence. Banderas' ambition now urged him to prosecute a scheme, the failure of which entailed upon him the penalty of death. It was to form a confederation of the native nations in Sonora with himself as king. Envoys were sent to the different chieftains, and support being promised him he took the field toward the close of 1832. His allies, however, failed him, and he was defeated at Soyopa by Leonardo Escalante after an obstinate battle. Banderas was captured, quickly tried, and shot at Arizpe early in the following year. After this frequent wars were waged with this obdurate nation.

In 1837 Manuel M. Gándara became governor of Sonora, and during his administration and afterward, in the political strife which was maintained for years between centralists and federalists, did not hesitate to rouse the Yaquis again and again in his efforts against his liberal opponents. Encouraged by this unscrupulous man, they took part in almost every military movement with which Sonora was agitated during a series of decades, maintaining their local independence, until finally they were subdued during the second administration of Díaz, after several years

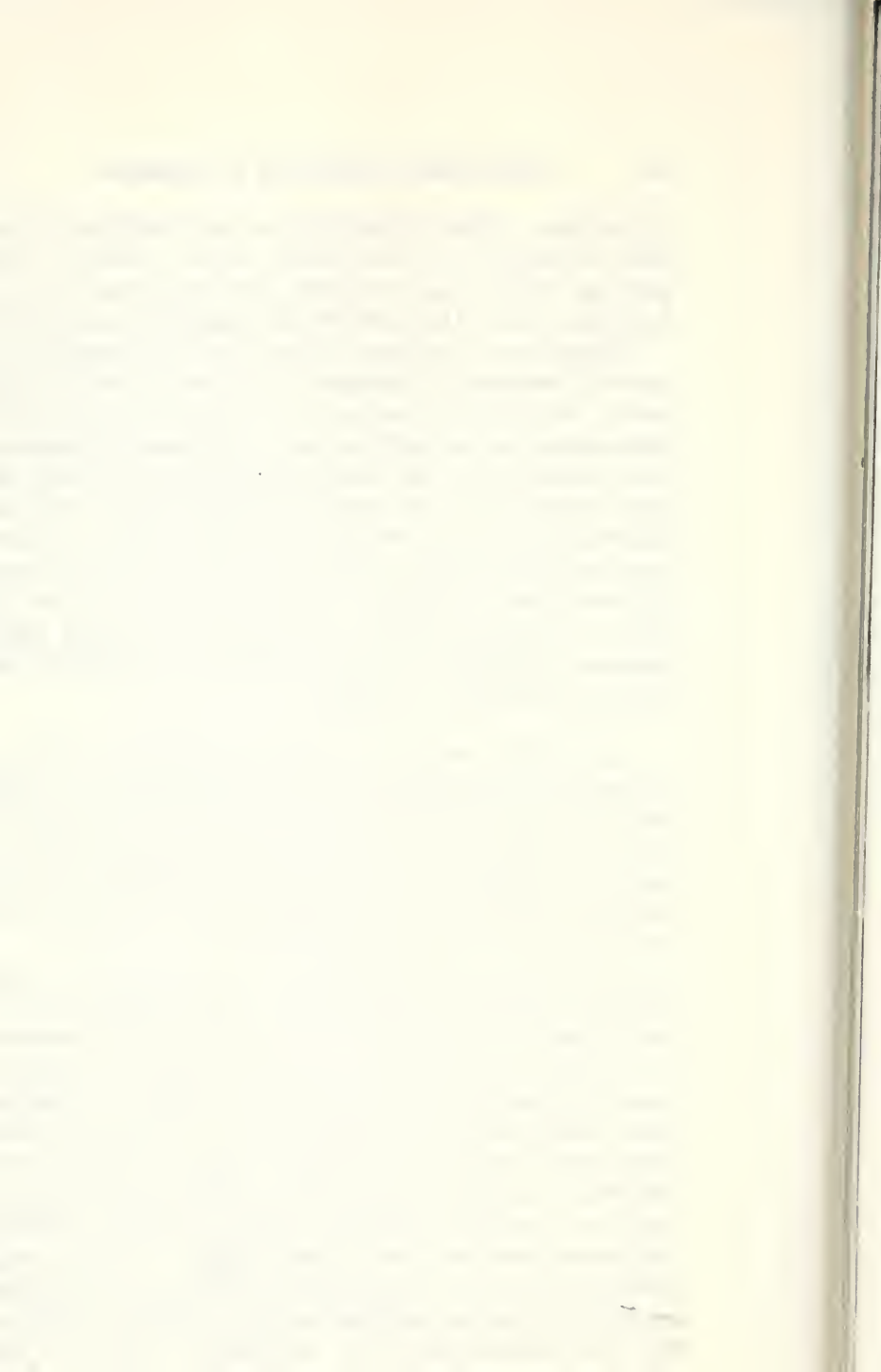


of warfare. Their chief, Cajeme, who had made himself celebrated by his daring valor, strategy, and political and military abilities, was captured and put to death before the eyes of his people in April 1887.

Though vast regions of the North Mexican States are still awaiting the advent of settlers to unfold their native wealth, the conquest of its numerous physical difficulties has already begun. The same allurements are as attractive to the people of to-day as it was to the Spaniards of old; the abandoned mines, and still undiscovered but well recognized riches of the sierras, are drawing attention to them, as the magnet draws the steel, and companies are already at work at the labor of redevelopment. These countries will again become inhabited, but with a denser population, and with a permanent occupancy.

Among the privileges of the biographer is the opportunity of presenting an important episode, or illustrating a great principle, by the history of a single life. Such an opportunity offers in the case of Benito Juarez, and the progressional phenomena illustrated are the events evolved in the emancipation of intellect and secularization of society in Mexico.

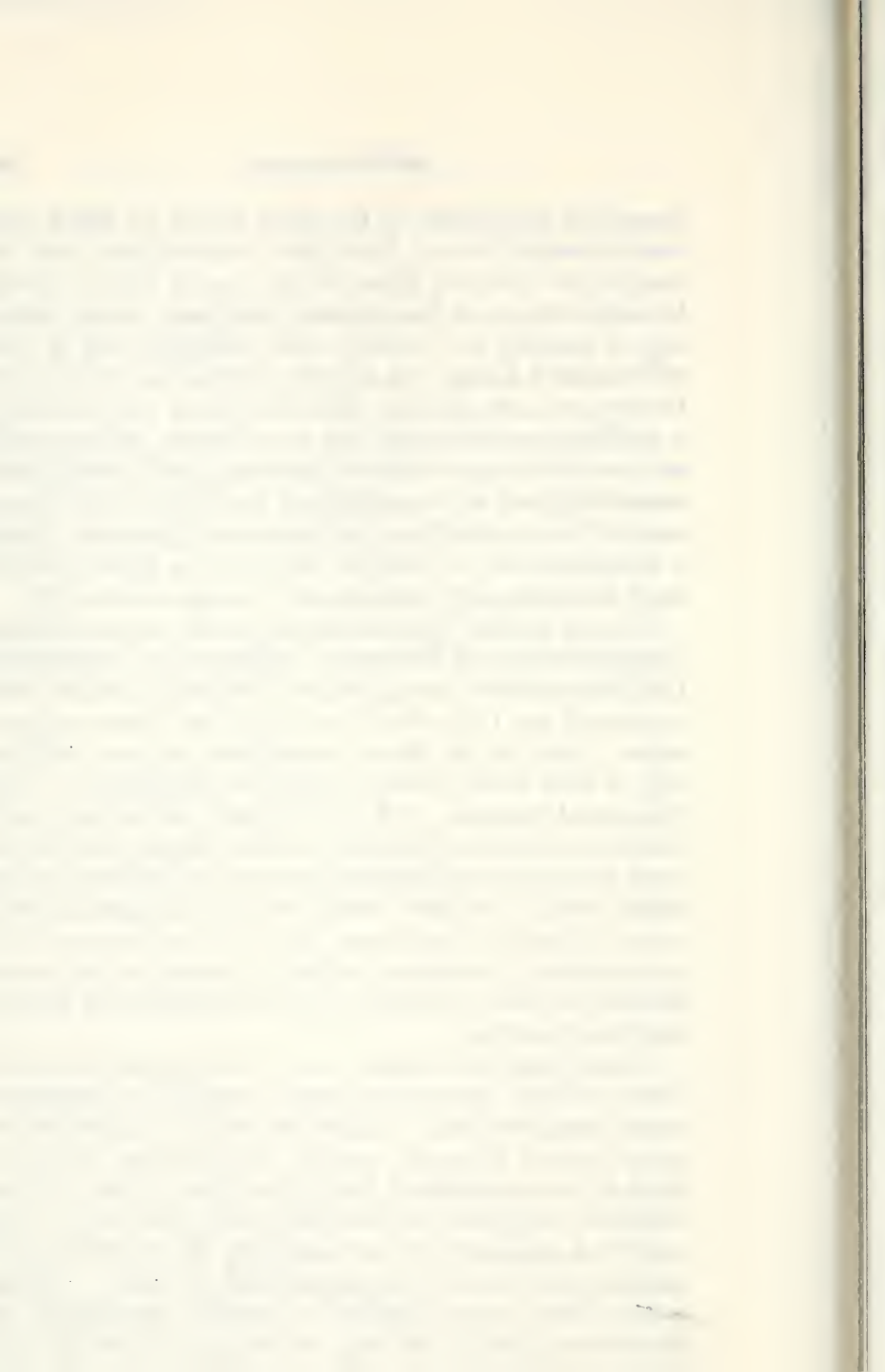
For the greatest achievement of the Mexican people was not their independence from Spain, nor the evolution out of chaos of constitutional government, nor anything which war, rapine, or political jugglery could accomplish; it was the declaration of intellectual independence, self-deliverance of mind, raising themselves out of the realm of darkness by their own inherent strength and volition. He that hath eyes may see; but how shall the blind from the enfolding darkness perceive the distant light? To his people God sent angels in time past; priests have had visions in Mexico; but we seldom hear of a miracle performed for the advancement of civilization. Yet if ever there was a miracle, it was in bringing out of the wilderness an ignorant Indian boy, a shock-headed



American aboriginal of the pure blood, of blood uncontaminated by any European intermixture, and so steeped in illiteracy that, at the age of eleven years he could not speak the Spanish language, to say nothing of reading or writing—the bringing out of the wilderness a being like this to perform the wonder of the age, of any age; for Benito Juarez was not only a political revolutionist, but a reformer, whose great aim was the improvement of his race, both morally and materially, and who contributed his life to the deliverance of his people from the infamy of ignorance, from a subordination of soul, of which, to a great extent, they were stupidly indifferent, or even unconscious.

Society during the viceregal period was a strange conglomeration of European, African, and American, the intermixture being no less distinctly marked and separated one from the other than the three original races. Out of all these crystallized, or is crystallizing, a new race, to-day called the Mexican, or the Spanish-American. Of the original stocks and endless intermixtures, Spaniards born in Spain stood first; next, those born of Spanish parents in America; after these, men in whose veins was the largest admixture of Spanish blood were held in most esteem; the pure-blooded American ranking superior to the pure-blooded African, but not to the European and American intermixture.

These class distinctions were based purely on accidents of birth, and not on merit, wealth, or mental or moral qualifications. Color was more a criterion of caste than of inherent quality, white being the standard of respectability; for if the skin of the native Spaniard happened to be darker than the skin of the native American, the fact did not affect public estimation, aside from the superiority of birth. Europeans have ever claimed a mental superiority to barbarians, that is to say, to any or all people not Europeans. But that the pure-blooded Spaniard, with all his high breeding and learning, possessed or



possesses native capabilities of mind superior to those of the unlearned Indian, the history of America, particularly the history of American aboriginal civilization, does not show. In the life of many a Mexican besides Juarez, both before and after the conquest, we have striking illustrations of the powers of native American aboriginal intellect, as compared with European. Savages, it is true, are children, and their minds the minds of the untutored, the inexperienced, and the undisciplined; but not all American Indians are savages.

Some of the blackest crimes within the power of tyranny to perpetuate—intellectual slavery, the enforcement of beliefs, the degradation of the mental and spiritual faculties of man—are charged upon Spain as causes of the Spanish-American revolution. Moral and mental disease, however, was not confined to Spain, but lay around the roots of Spanish-American society as well. Not all of the ignorance, vice, and superstition of the New World should be charged to the king of Spain; the powers of darkness held sway in America no less than in Europe, and ruled here with an iron hand long after the achievement of national independence. So ingrained in their nature by centuries of oppression was the doctrine of the divine right of rulers, temporal and spiritual, and that whether king or president or general, whether pope, priest, or sorcerer; so imprisoned were they by the thick black darkness—that naught but some almighty arm, of whatsoever denomination, could release them. Many of the evils of Spain were continued under republican rule, and in the name of liberty, long after the power of Spain in America was broken—the oppression of the stranger, whether of church or state, caste distinctions, military and guerilla law, government restrictions and impositions, forced loans, or other of the innumerable impositions of misrule.

Glancing backward a few score years, from the time when in Europe the man of Corsica was mak-

ing all the world to tremble, and Spain's decadence was at hand, Spain's natural rulers becoming profligate, and almost imbecile, one abdicating, another flying before the fury of the populace, another, Fernando VII., idle, incompetent, and faithless, a coward and a hypocrite, base, tricky, and a debauchee, as history calls him, and at his death, a brother desolating the land with war in opposing the succession of a daughter to the throne—is it not time that America should become ashamed of such parentage, and that sparks of revolution in Mexico be presently kindled into a purifying flame?

The subjects of Spain in America had suffered almost every form of oppression that ever a people was called upon to undergo at the hand of despotism. Yet the cutting aloof from the mother country was not altogether because the Spanish government made the children of Spaniards born in the New World politically and socially inferior to the children of Spaniards born in Spain, nor altogether because of the odious system of commercial monopoly which Spain imposed. These and like impositions had existed for two centuries, with no apparent disposition on the part of the colonists to rebel; yet when the opportunity came, all these wrongs had their influence. And that opportunity arose from Spain's weakness rather than America's strength; from Spain's degradation rather than America's enlightenment. That enlightenment was destined to come later, and one of its chief apostles was Benito Juarez.

Unlike the Anglo-American idea of freedom, with its sacred rights and firm principles, and the material and intellectual independence essential thereunto, Spanish-American independence was rather a change of masters, and that not always for the better, with revolution as a chronic condition. In the Spanish-American revolutions for independence there was little principle involved, no particular change in church matters, priests of the prevailing faith frequently

taking part as leaders of popular uprisings, and the government which followed was little less arbitrary, and scarcely more republican, than it had been under the viceroys. Indeed, so ground into their being had become the doctrine of loyalty, the divinity of kings, that obedience to rulers in some very pronounced form had become a necessity. To repudiate the idea of divine rulership in some form was to defy the authority of the almighty, and incur the penalties of hell. Such was the atmosphere breathed into the brain of Benito Juarez, as he emerged, an Indian boy of the blood pure, from the wilds of Oajaca.

The venal viceroy Iturrigaray was deposed for disloyalty shortly after Juarez was born. After Iturrigaray, came, as chief ruler under Spain, Garibay, infirm of body and weak of will; Archbishop Lizana, old, sickly, and as feeble in mind as in body; and then Venegas, during whose term began the war of independence.

Meanwhile, hatred of the Spaniards—this name being applied to the later comers of Spain by the earlier arrivals, and by the natives and mixed breeds—increases, until in 1810 the grito de Dolores is raised, and the cura leads forth his flock to battle. Iturbide appears, as a lieutenant of Venegas, opposing Hidalgo, who forms a government in opposition to that of the viceroy. Upon the death of Hidalgo another ecclesiastic, Morelos, becomes the revolutionary leader, whose colleague, Rayon, organizes a supreme national junta, which constitutes the revolutionary government, and of which Rayon is president. A national constitution is adopted, and in 1813 the suprema junta develops into a so-called congress, controlled by Morelos, but under the presidency, first of Murguía, and then of Liceaga, and chased hither and thither in the vicinity of Puebla and Vera Cruz by the royalists under Calleja and Iturbide. Morelos meets his death in 1815, and the insurgent congress continues for a time its migrations, and is forcibly dis-

solved. Royalty is represented for a time by Calleja and Apodaca, while the plan of Iguala is proclaimed, pointing toward independence.

The viceroy Apodaca is deposed, whereupon Novella fans the dying embers of royalty; then O'Donojú poses as viceroy for a time, and at his death the last shadow of viceregal authority disappeared from Mexico forever. Bravo, Victoria, Guerrero, and Santa Anna appear championing with their own cause the cause of republican liberty. The death of O'Donojú follows hard upon the declaration of independence on one hand and the appointment of a self-constituted regency to represent the king of Spain on the other. The viceregal government is dissolved, and a general flight of Spaniards follows. A sovereign provisional junta is formed, presently to give place to a national congress. Central America declares independence, and forms a union with the Mexican empire, as it may for a moment be called.

Then comes a counter-revolution, followed by new issues as the nation enters the transition period from political and intellectual despotism into the elemental conditions of a free people. Somewhat as Iturbide dethroned the viceroy Apodaca, Santa Anna dethrones Iturbide, who pays the penalty of attempted imperialism with his life. The victorious republicans organize anew and form two parties, federalists and centralists, the former preferring a form of government like that of the United States, and the latter comprising masons of the Scottish rite, and the old monarchists. Revolutions of various intent follow thickly, the disease having become chronic.

During these years of strife, which follow a yet longer period of political and ecclesiastical despotism, the state of the country was most lamentable. Since the beginning of the century there had been a marked retrogression. While large salaries were granted to officials, the revenue fell far short of the expenses of the new government. Forced loans

were frequent. Commerce experienced violent convulsions. Import duties were reduced, the old arrangements with Spain terminated, and trade with other nations established—beneficial measures in themselves, but not tending, when united with war and anarchy at home, toward immediate large returns. All industries had fallen into decay, particularly mining. The church owned or controlled two thirds of all the property in the country.

The war-cry of Hidalgo was, Death to the Spaniards! To the masses, who were partly native and partly of mixed blood, New Spain was not only a colony, but a conquered country. Morelos sought to impart form to Hidalgo's idea. The royalists, at first impelled by a sense of self-preservation, were finally roused by the bandit-like raids of the guerillas.

Both sides professed to be champions of the church, and the church was on both sides, the upper clergy being royalists, while those who ministered to the masses were revolutionists. Yet, in the end, the extremes met, the upper clergy finally turning the scale by which the revolutionists triumphed.

The revolutionists were mainly composed of mestizos, the newly developed race, some of them ambitious and comparatively intelligent, though many of them steeped in stupidity and prejudice; all of restless though uneven energy, with a keen sense of their own rights and of the wrongs inflicted by others, and with aspirations roused by mingled Spanish pride and aboriginal pretensions.

The Indian regarded the issue with less interest than the others. So far as he could yet see, the gain to him was an indefinite quantity, whichever side should win. Even the creole often wavered between a longing for control and a fear for imperilled wealth.

Under the constitution of 1824, Guadalupe Victoria is chosen president and Nicolás Bravo vice-president of the republic. Nineteen states and four territories comprise the Estados Unidos Mejicanos,

besides Tlaxcala and the later federal district. The government is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial powers, the first being vested in a congress, consisting of a senate and house of deputies. All religions, except the Roman catholic, are excluded. It is not a republic of the people, ruled by an intelligent and educated middle class, for there is none such; the masses are still thriftless and illiterate, and too habituated to centuries of leading-strings, too dazzled and preoccupied by military achievement, to apply themselves to the study of self-government. Soldiers become the tools of officers, who manipulate the power. Nevertheless, the income of the church is curtailed, and priests made to do more work for less pay. A Spanish invasion in 1829 is quickly repulsed; Guerrero, who had been made president the year previous, is overthrown by the vice-president, Bustamente, who takes the place of his victim, and in his turn is forced to give way before Santa Anna, executive power for a time being in the hands of Pedraza and Fariás. Joining forces with the clerical powers, Santa Anna in 1835 enters the capital as dictator, but is presently sent into exile. Then comes the war with the United States, and loss of territory; Herrera is president, and after him Arista; then Santa Anna, having been recalled, resumes powers, yet only the lower to fall and give place to Álvarez, whose cabinet embraced, besides Comonfort, pronounced liberals like Juárez and Ocampo, Prieto and Miguel Lerdo.

Some twenty-two miles northeast of Oajaca, in the midst of the labyrinth of ranges at the conjunction of the sierras, lies the district of Ixtlan, and in it the hamlet of San Pablo Guclatao, on the bank of the water known as Laguna Encantada, or the enchanted lake, from its crystal clearness and unfathomable depth.

All around rise rugged peaks, sheltering the scattering cottages at their base, which stand in patches of cultivated soil and groves of fruit-trees. The set-

tlement numbers less than two hundred souls; in the centre are found a few adobe huts and sheds, with still more humble belongings, a modest chapel, and a temple ruined by one of the earthquakes that occasionally disturb the otherwise unbroken tranquillity of the district. In one of these cottages, on the 21st of March, 1806, was born Benito Pablo, the son of Marcelino Juarez and his wife Brígida García, both of pure Indian blood.

Benito was one of several children, and a posthumous child. His mother died in giving him birth, leaving him to the care of a grandmother, from whom he passed to the family of Pablo, his father's brother. It cannot be said that his prospects in life were altered by the transfer, for he had no prospects in the first place, and in the ordinary course of events he would never have passed beyond the narrow confines of a peasant's sphere. As it was, Benito grew up without any education, as I have said before, even Spanish being to him an unknown tongue as late as his eleventh year.

At this time an incident occurred upon which turned his future. He and a somewhat elder boy, named Juan Luna, were one day herding Pablo's few cattle, when the fruit of a neighbor's garden tempted them to pick and eat. Absorbed by this enjoyment they forgot the cattle, which followed their example, and were soon discussing the excellency of mal-appropriated green corn. The less-guarded movements of the animals roused the owner, who reached the spot in time to catch the boys and administer to them an angry reproof. He did not beat them, but he did what for Benito seemed worse—he threatened to tell his guardian.

Pablo had no particular affection for the orphan boy, and frequently maltreated him for slight offences. The present misdemeanor was more serious than usual; and if for nothing poor Benito received severe chastisements, what would be proportionate punish-

ment in this case? He had a good head for logic; he did not like the conclusions his judgment arrived at, so he resolved to run away. Abandoning the cattle to their fate, he hurried across the hills, and soon fell in with some market-men on their way to Oajaca. It is a common habit among these otherwise secluded people to undertake long journeys to some leading town in order to dispose of a few articles of their manufacture, or sell a little produce, the returns from which may perhaps be dissipated in a few hours' carousal. Yet they will jog contentedly for days at a swinging pace, carrying their burden over hill and ravine, on to their predetermined destination, and past the intermediate towns, where likely enough a comparatively better sale might be effected.

Informed of his adventure, the men sought to persuade him to return; but by this time his distracted wits had come back to him—for he had plenty of them—and he said he would go to his sister, who was serving in a family at Oajaca, and seek her counsel. The result was, that on his arrival in the city, a Señor Perez interested himself in the boy, and found him a home with Antonio Salanueva, a benevolent man, connected with one of the Franciscan orders.

Perceiving the intelligence of the lad, and the facility with which he acquired the rudiments of learning, he enlisted the sympathies of a rich trader, Diego Chavez, who had him sent to the seminario. In return, Juarez assisted, so far as he was able, in book-keeping and other details of the shop. These worthy men little knew that they were preparing this poor Indian boy for the presidency of the republic.

Juarez completed his course with honor, and the pious Salanueva sought to persuade him to study for the church, which in his opinion was the most exalted and promising of the professions; but Juarez had already imbibed liberal ideas, and the civil institute, with its chairs of jurisprudence, being just at that time established, he resolved to prepare for the law.

There was a large secession from the seminario on the same occasion, the Oajaca youths being allured by the wider and more advantageous curriculum at the new college.

About this time the strife of rival political factions, which during the following half-century racked this unhappy land with pronunciamientos, outrages, and ravaging wars in unbroken succession, had reached fever-heat. The cause of all these social convulsions lay partly in the impetuous and volatile disposition of the people, bewildered at first by their escape from the leading-string of the paternal Spanish government, and impelled by reckless ambition and jealousies among themselves.

Itself the result of upheaval, the ever-changing government failed to acquire sufficient strength to control succeeding movements. Temporary peace was purchased by a distribution of offices and other favors among the supporters as well as the opponents of a successful movement, a policy which served only to excite the cupidity of all non-participants in the spoils. Revolution came to be looked upon as the only available means to promotion; seniority, services, and talent counted for nothing. By a skilful or lucky pronunciamiento, the corporal of to-day might be the general of to-morrow, and the embezzling official could readily cloak his misdeeds by the same means, and gain the opportunity for still larger peculations for himself and friends. Liberty was misconstrued into license; everybody claimed the right to protest in any manner he pleased against a tottering government; congress and legislatures were torn by factions, and a disobedient army lay placidly regarding affairs, while fattening on the substance of the country.

The leading parties at this time were the Escoceses and Yorkinos, both taking their name from masonic lodges instituted respectively in accordance with Scotch and York rites. The former was started in

Spain in 1813, by army officers, to promote popular, or rather aristocratic, representation and ecclesiastical restriction. In New Spain it achieved in 1820 the reëstablishment of the liberal constitution of 1812.

The clergy managed to modify the threatening aspect, as we have seen, by forming a monarchy under Iturbide. The main faction of the now divided Escoceses soon overthrew him, however, and labored for a central republic; but jealous of their privileges, the states succeeded in framing a federal system, assisted by defeated Iturbidists.

Two years later, in 1826, the Yorkinos suddenly appeared, headed by such men as Zavala, Esteva, and Arizpe. Their origin lay in the Águila Negra society, formed under President Victoria to counteract the Escoceses. A division took place, and the main body joined the York lodge, instituted by Poinsett, figuring later also under the terms of puros, liberals, progressists, reds, and even Jacobins. This movement caused the revival of the almost extinguished Escocese party, known also under the appellations of aristocrats, conservatives, and retrogrades, to which rich persons, land-owners, the clergy, and cognate classes preferred to belong. The terms indicate their aims, foremost among which were office and power, and the results were lamentable strife and disorder, the parties sinking now and then, only to rise again with principles somewhat modified to suit the changing political aspect.

The term of Victoria, the first president under the constitution of 1824, expired in 1828, and both parties hurried headlong into the election campaign. The aristocratic element, even among the Yorkinos, joined the Escoceses, now called Novenarios, and succeeded in electing Pedraza to the chief magistracy. The other side, nicknamed for a while as anarquistas, canallas, amigos de los cambios, managed, with the aid of the soldiers, to defeat the government troops, set aside the election, and install as president Vicente Guerrero.

This remarkable man was born about 1783, of an humble family mainly of Indian blood, near Tixtla, in the state subsequently named after him. Without education, but possessed of marked military instincts, he had risen during the war of independence to the rank of general. At one time the leading spirit of the insurgents, he had now become the representative of the early revolutionary soldiers, whom the masses were beginning to recognize as their foremost heroes, rather than the later and more aristocratic claimants headed by Iturbide.

The Escoceses had to accept their defeat; but under the designation of partido del orden, or law and order party, which embraced all the influential clergy and the greater portion of the militia, formed by the so-called "decent people" and hombres de bien, they began to labor for a central form of government, with aristocratic control, while the progresistas advocated an unrestrained press, the abolition of clerical and military privileges, the suppression of convents, civil marriage, and other innovations.

It may readily be conceived that Guerrero found many adherents in Oajaca, which was so largely liberal, and embraced at that time part of his state. The seminario naturally leaned to the Escoceses, and the institute to the liberal side. The students of both took active part in politics, and among the latter were Miguel Mendez, a talented Indian from the mountains, Marcos Perez, and Juarez. The result was, that Guerrero's triumph gave Mendez the presidency of the Oajaca tribunal, and Juarez a magistracy, although neither had as yet completed the required course. Both continued their studies, however, Juarez meanwhile filling at the institute the chair of experimental physics, and in the city council the position of regidor, or alderman. In 1832 he took the degree of bachelor of law, was elected deputy to the legislature, and two years later passed as an advocate.

Such was the rapid advancement of the humble

youth, who, up to his twelfth year, had toiled in the mountains, half-naked, and whose prospects then for education, position, and fame were about as good as those of the cattle he tended. Now, at the age of twenty-two, we find him using with force and fluency from the magisterial bench the language of which ten years before he had scarcely known a syllable. His brothers clung to their village with its old, odd ways; but his sister, named Soledad, became, later, companion to his wife, who was a woman of refinement. The cruel uncle received aid to improve his home, and a promising nephew was educated, only to join the opposing party and be shot.

Guerrero did not remain long at the head of affairs. Regardless of his distinguished claims as patriot, leader, and president, his enemies treacherously seized and shot him. The centralists gradually regained control, and held the liberals in check, Juarez among others being both watched and imprisoned for supposed conspiracy. In 1842 his party began to acquire advantages, and he was appointed judge. Two years later, Governor León made him secretary of state, a position which was shortly changed for that of fiscal in the supreme court of the republic. The federal system had been reëstablished, and in 1846 Juarez was chosen one of a triumvirate of rulers for Oajaca, going shortly afterward as its most popular deputy to congress.

Meanwhile, the church, roused by an attempt to levy upon their vast estates toward the defence of the country against invaders from the United States of the north, had stirred up several revolutions, one of them in Oajaca. This was defeated, not without revealing the inefficiency of Governor Arteaga, who thought it prudent to resign. Among the candidates to replace him was Juarez; and with the support of the interior towns and the militia, he assumed office in November 1847.

During five years of administration, Juarez intro-

duced many reforms, developed resources, paid off the state debt, which had been growing for nearly a score of years, and left a surplus in the treasury. Oajaca became known as a prosperous commonwealth, and Juarez as a public benefactor.

The constitution of Oajaca forbade reelection to governing positions, and Juarez, unlike many another, quietly retired to his law office, yet retaining the post of director at the institute. Ignacio Mejía, one of his later followers, succeeded him as governor.

It was a revolution begun in Jalisco which brought Santa Anna to the head of affairs in 1853, as dictator. A man of strong passion, he could not avoid the temptation to retaliate upon his enemies, to whom he ascribed his former reverses and humiliations. Regardless of his oaths, he issued a law against conspirators, the aim of which could readily be interpreted. Juarez had been too prominent among the new ruler's opponents to be overlooked.

One day in May 1853, while engaged in some law business at Etna, Juarez was arrested and hurried away to Vera Cruz, and after severe treatment in several dungeons, he was shipped for Habana, without means, and without permission even to communicate with his family. Accompanied by General Montenegro, he proceeded to New Orleans, and there lived in poverty, sustained by the small remittances which his wife and friends could spare. But the exile proved of benefit to him, for he there availed himself of the opportunity to study laws and institutions which were afterward to be applied for the advancement of Mexico. Indeed, Washington and Bolívar became his models.

He had married in 1843 Doña Margarita Maza, a woman with education, with noble sentiments, and of great beauty. By the sale of his small library and other effects, she was enabled to open a little shop at Etna, and with this, and a small allowance granted by Governor Mejía, she managed to maintain herself and

children. This generosity on the part of Mejía was not forgotten.

The law business of Juarez was transferred to his partner, Marcos Perez; but the latter being shortly afterward arrested for corresponding with the enemies of Santa Anna, Porfirio Diaz, as student and clerk of the firm, came into sole charge. It was a proud trust for one so young; yet fitly bestowed, for Porfirio was not only proving himself honest and industrious, but was now filling the chair of Roman law at the institute, and was receiving a fair income by means of his recognized ability in the profession.

We hear much said as to the benefit of early opportunities, and about those who have succeeded in life without them, have succeeded without any advantages whatsoever, without even an education. There are men who boast of this imperfection, as if their ignorance were something of which to be proud; but such boasting is by no means an indication that the defects of their youth have been remedied in later years.

It is now accepted, almost as an axiom, that men are born about equal; that the education offered by schools and colleges is in every instance a good thing; and that the individual by his superior energy or ability does for himself what others have failed to do for him.

All three of the propositions are in some respects unsound. Men are not born equal. Some have more physical strength than others; some more mind. So far as rights are concerned, all are equal; but the man of mind is more noble, more powerful, than the man of mere clay. Nature delights in variety, as well as in wild prodigality. Millions of animals, birds, and fishes she makes, only to feed other animals, birds, and fishes; and these, again, to feed others. Hillside and plain she colors with flowers, only to wipe them out with a single night's frost or a day's scorching sun. For-

ests she raises, only to serve as fertilizers of new forests.

And amidst all this diversity and superfluity, there are also innumerable shades of quality. One is no better for being born rich than poor; generally, one is much the worse for being lapped in unearned wealth. Education, as bestowed by schools, may be beneficial or detrimental; it may lead to improving or making more efficient native ability, or it may exercise so narrowing and restricting an influence as wholly to kill budding talents. Socrates could interpret the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which pronounced him the wisest of men, not because he knew more than others, but because he alone of all men was fully conscious of his own ignorance.

The boy Benito did not make himself; he was a product of nature; and in his native hills of Ixtlan there may have been a thousand others his equals in brain-power and inherent ability at or a thousand years before his time. But in his case, accident, circumstances, luck, or providence brought out his talents and held them up before the world, while the others were permitted to come and go in the way usual to universal things.

It is true that not one man in a million circumstanced as he was would have developed as he did. Environment acts on different objects differently. Some things become tender by cooking; others tough. Eggs are made hard and potatoes soft by the application of heat; while corn is first softened and then hardened by the same process. The Pleiades, assured by Medea that thus they might restore to their father his youthful vigor, cut him into pieces, and boiled and boiled and boiled them; but alas! the longer they boiled the old gentleman, the tougher he became.

Application is more than education. We cannot always follow our teachings. There is a duality in all things, and a many-sided significance and way of application to all rules.

For example, we are told that two and two make four; but in our anomalous social life we sometimes find that two and two do not make four. Two house-servants will not do twice as much as one, and often three will accomplish less than two. One may possess many books, and know little of literature; one may read much, and acquire little learning. Similar sicknesses do not produce suffering alike in all; a healthy mind in a diseased body throws off the pain which a diseased mind in a usually healthy body nurses. The sun shining on water, while causing the rivulet to sparkle, envelops the stagnant pool in noisome vapor, so upon two human beings the same happenings will act, on one so as to bring forth joy and golden fruit, while rendering the other, like a dead moon, melancholy, pale, and sepulchral.

Poverty is a strong factor in progress. If Juarez had not been poor, he had not been president. When with his relatives he had nothing, and during his studies at Oajaca he was reduced almost as low as Belisarius begging an obolus. Neither had his mind been so crammed with antiquated facts and notions called learning as to destroy all freshness and originality of thought, and prevent the entry of practical truths and progressive ideas.

Juarez was a perfect type of the pure Zapotec, although somewhat below medium height, and with skin of darker copper-color. Hands and feet small; head not round nor very large; hair straight, coarse, and black; forehead high and prominent; eyes oblong, black, and full of fire; nose straight, though not finely chiselled; face clean shaven; and over all was spread an expression of thoughtfulness and refinement.

Such is a specimen of the aboriginal American in the region of Oajaca, a race in some quarters regarded as savages. While not a handsome man, his face had an alluring stamp of discreet gentleness, from which a large scar by no means detracted. There was little to distinguish him from a European; and one may see

skins as dark in Italy and Spain; while the cast of the face, though a little peculiar and characteristic, is by no means unattractive.

So much for the physical; his life as portrayed in history is a better commentary on his intellectual abilities than any I can make; suffice it to say, that it compares not unfavorably with those of the foremost statesmen and reformers, in various ages, of Europe and America. This matter of race and color is of minor importance, and goes now for little in Mexico. Men are very sensibly regarded for what they are and what they can do. Why is it any more wonderful that genius should spring up in the mountains of America than in the mountains of Asia? Let those answer who have only race and color of which to boast.

In summing up the character of Benito Juarez, we note, first, that although not without valor and other qualities which would have rendered him distinguished in the field, he was a statesman rather than a soldier. Of a lymphatic temperament, and exceedingly reticent on all important matters, in reaching conclusions his mind seemed to depend upon itself. Original in the conception of his plans, there was no lack of force for their execution; and however hotly burned the fires of patriotism and ambition within, outwardly there was an ever-present calm.

Referring once more to the condition of politics and society at the time of Juarez, which must ever constitute the true framework for such a portrait, we find that during the period from 1821 to 1857, Mexico was ruled under divers forms of government, with at least fifty different administrations, these incessant changes in the affairs of state being attended by more than two hundred and fifty revolutions.

The last effort of the conservative party was the invitation extended to Maximilian of Austria to reëstablish the Mexican empire, and the failure of this ill-judged enterprise, in 1867, presently to be presented,

was the death-blow to centralism. Since that time republican principles under the federal system have gradually gained, represented, it is true, by various political parties, but all more or less progressive and of distinctive character, the several factions being designated after their respective leaders, as Juaristas, Lerdistas, and Porfiristas. Reforms have followed in quick succession. From the church has been wrested a large portion of her power, religious tolerance has been proclaimed, and marriage by civil contract legalized; while vast improvement has been made in the material condition of the country, which, during the colonial period, languished under oppressive restrictions, and in later days was depressed by chronic internal strife.

It was one of the chief purposes of Juarez to redistribute the wealth of the country, which, before the revolution, was so largely in the hands of the clergy. And during his career several important decrees were issued to curtail the power of the clergy. One of his first acts on taking his place at the capital, as we shall see, was to expel the papal delegate, Luigi Clementi, as well as the archbishop of Mexico, and bishops Madrid, Murguía, Barajas, and Espinosa. On the arrival at Vera Cruz of these high ecclesiastics, their carriages were stoned, while the populace cried out for their confinement in prison, which, however, the government would not permit. Most of those who could properly be called Spaniards had long before this left the country, taking with them all the money and valuables they could collect, or rather all that they were permitted to remove. As for the rest, there was not always, and there is not to-day, the difference which the abject condition of the poorer classes and the extravagant luxury of the rich would seem to indicate.

It is all the more remarkable, the liberalizing genius of Juarez, when we consider the race problem, and the social position of the Indians in Mexico. Once

lords aboriginal of the soil, they could not forget that they were a conquered people, and for three centuries had been servants, if not slaves—had been wholly under the political and religious domination of the white race. All this time they had been in a state of tutelage, and were treated in many respects as irrational beings. But the rise into prominence of such men as Juarez, whose ability and energy cast a redeeming lustre on their race, have removed, and are yet removing, many social obstacles.

The peaceful, semi-dormant period of viceregal rule was favorable to the evolution of a race, which advanced the Indian and Spanish stock toward a fixed type. If left to themselves, the mestizos must in time become the national race; but Mexico is peculiarly exposed to the encroachments of progress, whose influence tends toward a white race.

Between 1832 and 1860 the clergy sold property valued at \$85,000,000 for \$42,000,000. During this time, and previously, the church had suffered greatly from seizures and forced loans, both by revolutionary leaders and the government.

After the independence, the Mexican church was for many years in an anomalous condition. Failing to induce the faithful to renew allegiance to the Spanish crown, the pope at first refused to confirm bishops nominated by the Mexican government, but finally assented. There were two thousand priests outside of the regular orders, and a large part of the secular clergy were deemed by their superiors as scarcely within the pale of respectability. The revenue went largely to the city clergy and high ecclesiastics, while country priests were kept poor—doubtless without detriment to their piety. Though among the priesthood were some good men, it is unquestionably true that many were incompetent and immoral, and brought disrepute upon the profession.

It was not wholly as the church claimed, that the people were becoming irreligious, though there were

many among the educated class who rejected all religion, calling themselves naturalistas, but the ancient supremacy of the church had departed forever. But even now, particularly in the rural districts, the clergy retain many of their privileges and prerogatives, directing the conscience not only in religious but in secular matters, and by their wealth and patronage commanding the masses.

And now begins in earnest the fight for intellectual liberty. After two years of exile, Juarez receives news at New Orleans of the revolution of Ayutla, deposing Santa Anna, whereupon he proceeds by way of Panamá to Acapulco, joins Álvarez, and accompanies the forces of the south, until he is appointed at Iguala councillor of state, and shortly afterward minister of justice and ecclesiastical affairs.

The first heavy blow against ecclesiastical and military supremacy is struck by what is known as the ley Juárez, upon the administration of justice, promulgated on the 22d of November, 1855. By this law is ordered suppressed all special tribunals, together with the fueros and privileges of the clergy and military.

The atmosphere of intrigue and contempt for true principles, in which Álvarez finds himself enveloped on reaching the capital, is not suited to the character and temperament of the old soldier of the independence war, and he resigns his power to Comonfort, his ministers resigning with him, and Juarez being made governor of Oajaca.

Ignacio Comonfort was born in Puebla on the 12th of March, 1812, his father, Mariano, having been a lieutenant-colonel of the Spanish royal army. He received his education at a Jesuit college. As a rule, in his political career, he was amiable and conciliatory, yet firm of purpose; though slow in resolve, he was energetic in action. Of his bravery and coolness in danger no doubt was ever entertained. Though of a religious turn of mind, and devoted to the faith of his forefathers, he was not bigoted, nor disposed to toler-

ate ecclesiastical despotism. Such was the man in whose hands were now intrusted the destinies of the republic, at the dawn of the era of true liberalism; and in Comonfort and his advisers the supporters of oligarchy and clerical power find opponents whom they can neither cajole nor overthrow. All efforts to restore the old order of things fail; the popular cry is for progressive measures, and the ley de desmortización civil y eclesiástica, or ley Lerdo, is promulgated.

The signification of this measure I will explain. Most of the landed property in Mexico at this time was vested in mortmain. The Lerdo law enabled the tenants to become owners in fee-simple of the estates they held in lease from civil or ecclesiastical corporations; other persons holding property in emphyteusis were granted the same privilege, by capitalizing at six per cent a year the rent they were paying, to arrive at the value of the property. The latter was secured at six per cent in favor of the former owners, and made redeemable at the purchasers' convenience. The buildings immediately applied to the service of a corporation were exempted from the effects of the law. Estates conveyed under the latter were not to revert to the corporations at any future time, and corporations were forbidden to own or administer upon landed property.

Next in the progress of liberalization comes the adoption of a new constitution in 1857, wherein are declared the rights of man upon the soundest basis, as adopted by the most enlightened nations. Equality before the law is promulgated as a fundamental principle; special privileges and prerogatives are forbidden. Military and ecclesiastical fueros, the last remnants of monarchial despotism, are declared incompatible with republican institutions. Among those who take a prominent part in the framing and adoption of these advanced ideas is that patriarch of reform, Valentín Gómez Farías, who, as the acting executive in 1834, had failed in his efforts to curtail the power of the

military and clergy. All elements hostile to progress united to reëstablish despotism, or at least to destroy liberalism, and in this the clergy, by the use of the pulpit and the confessional, were powerful factors.

In an evil hour Comonfort, despairing of conquering a peace, fancied he might secure the desired end by the amalgamation of parties bitterly hostile to each other, over whom he would hold supreme control. This swerving from the straight path brought about his ruin.

Juarez had long before abandoned the cabinet, as we have seen, to become governor of Oajaca, from whose territory he expelled all priests who refused Christian sepulture to the supporters of the new constitution and the reform laws. At the same time that he was elected by 112,000 votes governor of Oajaca, the people throughout the republic had given him their suffrages for president of the supreme court of justice, into which office he was inducted on the 1st of December, 1857, and at the same time, by permission of congress, held the office of minister of government. Juarez was deceived in regard to Comonfort's intention to bring about a change of system, and in the president's name declared groundless all reports to that effect. The conservatives adopted during this same December a plan at Tacubaya to bring about the framing of another constitution, and proposed to Comonfort that, pending the acceptance of the new organic law, he should rule with a council composed of one representative from each state. Upon hearing of this, Juarez forthwith advised the president to reject the rôle which was tendered him. But nothing availed; the conspirators made a pronunciamiento under Félix Zuloaga, and shortly afterward took possession of the capital, Comonfort departing from the republic. After the war of French intervention, he returned to take part in the defence of national independence and republican principles, accepted the position of secretary of war under Presi-

dent Juarez, and on a journey to Guanajuato, was waylaid by a party of imperialists and killed, on the 14th of November, 1863.

Zuloaga, made president ad interim, was superseded by Miguel Miramón, whose energy of character and military ability not only restored at the capital and over a large portion of the republic the supremacy of the conservatives, but paved the way for foreign intervention in the affairs of the country, and for an attempt to implant therein monarchical principles under an imported superior. The plans to supplant republicanism, first with an unmitigated despotism, and next with a monarchy, cost Mexico years of anguish, and the loss of thousands of her children; but these ill-advised efforts eventually fell, as we shall see, before the patriotism, perseverance, and indomitable will of the great Indian champion of nationality and democracy, Benito Juarez.

Upon Comonfort's acceptance of the plan of Tacubaya, annulling the constitution of 1857, under which he had accepted the presidency, thus practically abandoning the purposes and principles of liberalization, and to which Juarez had interposed strenuous objections, the president had held him confined to his room in the palace. But when Comonfort, upon realizing that he had been used as a tool by the opposing party, and in the endeavor to retrace his steps had failed, to the loss of his power and position, he released Juarez, who thereupon fled from the capital to Guanajuato, and on the 19th of January, 1858, proclaimed himself the constitutional president of the republic, and established there his government, which was unhesitatingly recognized by a majority of the states, and became the centre of the liberal element in the country. The step thus taken by Juarez was in accordance with the constitution, which devolved upon the president of the supreme court the executive office in default of the chief magistrate, who by his defection had forfeited his office. The matter was yet more

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definitely determined when Comonfort departed from the territory of the republic on the 7th of February.

A succession of disasters having befallen the arms of the constitutionalists, Juarez and his government found it necessary to transfer themselves to Guadalajara, and while there the troops under Lieutenant-colonel Landa revolted, and made prisoners of the president and several ministers and officials, whom they confined in one room, threatening them with death if they did not recognize the government of the reactionists, as those were called who turned back from the constitution of 1857. Upon the coolness and courage of this Indian, whose characteristic stoicism never for a moment deserted him, the fate of the republic hung. Had he shown the slightest weakness, the least indication of giving way, his captors would have resorted to any means within their power to make him yield. But though they held him prisoner, his life in their hands, they felt convinced that not only was his will adamant, but that to kill him would not kill his cause. Would he but yield, turn traitor to the principles of liberalism, dissolve his government and his party, and the oligarchs might be sure of control for years to come, if not forever. If to kill the leader were to kill the cause, his life would not have been left to him an hour.

And fortunate it was, again, that he was not killed, accidentally or intentionally, when a portion of the cavalry and national guard who had refused to join Landa went to the rescue of the prisoners. When hard-pressed by the rescuing party, Peraza, the officer in charge, ordered his men to point their muskets at the prisoners, but at the persuasion of Prieto, one of the Juarez cabinet, they did not fire. A moment later, when Landa in his turn requested Juarez to forbid the royal troops from firing on the mutineers, with no small shrewdness and bravery, Juarez replied, "Pardon me, señor; I am a prisoner, and may not give orders."

An arrangement was finally agreed upon by which

Juarez and his companions were to be set free and permitted to leave Guadalajara, exempt from recapture in any place within ten leagues of the city. Turning their steps toward Coloma, news of fresh dangers from the fall of Guadalajara overtook them, whereupon Juarez resolved to establish his government at Vera Cruz. Embarking at Manzanillo on the 14th of April, with his ministry, Ocampo, Ruiz, Prieto, and Guzmán, on the American steamship *John L. Stevens*, he reached Panamá, and thence via Colón, Habana, and New Orleans, they arrived at Vera Cruz on the 4th of May, 1858. On the same day the government was duly installed, and the fact was communicated by Ocampo to the governors and others.

Meantime the struggle for supremacy continued elsewhere. The liberals were numerous enough, but thus far lacked able commanders; hence the conservatives had within four months made themselves masters of the most populous cities. Even Vera Cruz, Juarez' present capital, was debarred from communication with the interior. He was recognized at ports both on the gulf of Mexico and on the Pacific, but his enemies were using all possible means to close them. But however precarious became the situation, it was not in his nature to become disheartened.

When, in February 1859, Miramón assumed the reins of government in Mexico, owing to the inability of Zuloaga to provide a constitution, he placed at the head of his cabinet Santa Anna's favorite counsellor and minister, Manuel Diez de Bonilla. Miramón was a native of Mexico, in which city he was born on the 29th of September, 1832. He was intelligent, ambitious, and brave, as well as an able military chieftain, though we must admit that fortune had no small share in his brilliant successes. The great services he had rendered the reactionists since the fall of Comonfort had won him the high regard of the clergy; and upon his expressing an intention of attacking Vera Cruz, they at once advanced him a large sum of

money for that purpose. Juarez had not been idle, but had made preparations to meet the coming onslaught. The constitutional forces occupying the defiles of the sierra were brought together at the port, to resist the attack of Miramón's army, consisting of 5,000 well-provided men, with 28 pieces of artillery. The constitutionalists harassed it at all points, while others threatened the capital, and thus prevented the concentration of forces against Vera Cruz. The result was, that at a council of war Miramón's officers declared the capture of Juarez' stronghold by assault to be impracticable. The siege was therefore abandoned on the 29th of March.

On the 12th of July, 1859, Juarez issued a decree confiscating the church property, on the ground that the church had been the main support of the royalists during the war of independence, and since then the most powerful opponent of liberal ideas, promoting the present fratricidal war, with the selfish aims of escaping submission to civil authority, and retaining the supremacy in both civil and religious matters, to effect which it was using the property placed in its hands by the people for benevolent and religious purposes. The decree restored to the nation all the property held by the secular and regular clergy, established independence between church and state, and extended government protection to public worship of all denominations.

The liberal arms, though successful at times, were not, generally speaking, favored by fortune. On the other hand, Juarez was recognized as the legitimate chief magistrate of the Mexican republic by the United States, who accredited a minister plenipotentiary near his government. This was a point in his favor, giving him prestige. Though not despairing of final success, Juarez began to fear that he would be left without means to maintain his cause, which was the cause of his country. Hence his acceptance of a proposition from the United States minister,

McLane, to admit American volunteers in the liberal army. McLane's government had permitted the exportation of war material for the use of the liberals, and further to aid Juarez with its support, had authorized the negotiations culminating in the McLane-Ocampo treaty, signed December 14, 1859, which contained among its provisions one authorizing the United States to defend its citizens and their interests, by force of arms, within Mexican territory. And it was alleged that by another clause Mexico might, under certain contingencies, accept in a certain form the protectorate of the United States. The enemies of Juarez have accused him of an undue subservience to the pretensions of the neighboring republic, thus jeopardizing the independence and dignity of his country. However that may be, the treaty never came into effect, as notwithstanding the arguments adduced in its favor by President Buchanan and others, it was rejected by the United States senate.

In the mean time the belligerents increased their forces, and early in 1860 those of the constitutionalists were quite numerous, while Miramón concluded that the time had come to make a simultaneous assault against Vera Cruz by land and sea, to facilitate which operation a small squadron under Mexican colors, and commanded by General Marin, had been fitted out at Habana, and was expected to arrive off Vera Cruz about the end of February. Juarez was well apprised of the movements of the enemy, and in a forcible proclamation of the 23d of that month declared Marin's expedition a piratical one. Miramón, with 5,000 men, had his headquarters at Medellin, and awaited the arrival of the squadron to push his operations against the capital of the liberals with the utmost vigor. An attempt was at this time made by Captain Aldham, of the British war-ship *Valorous*, to bring about a compromise between the belligerents, accompanying his proposition with a threat that if they failed to heed it, his government would demand

reparation of all damages inflicted on its subjects by either belligerent. Among the clauses of the proposed arrangement was, that an assembly, composed of men who had filled public trusts from 1822 to 1853, should be convened, and intrusted with the task of reorganizing the country. Miramón assented to the armistice under the combined mediation of Great Britain, France, Spain, and the United States. Juárez declined to enter into any arrangement savoring of compromise, and issued a proclamation to that effect.

The squadron expected by Miramón, consisting of the steamers *General Miramón* and *Marqués de la Habana*, were despatched in the offing in the afternoon of March 6th. But it was not permitted to render the service for which it had come, for as soon as the two steamers passed the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, they were signalled to show their colors, which they failed to do until they were opposite the Spanish vessels at Antón Lizardo. At this time there were three United States war-ships anchored in the port, namely, the frigate *Savannah*, and the corvettes *Saratoga* and *Preble*, besides two steamers, the *Indianola* and *Ware*, which were under charter to the liberal government. Captain Jarvis, the senior officer of the American squadron, must have had orders from his government to coöperate with Juárez, for he forthwith sent an officer with 80 men to the *Indianola*, and an equal force to the *Ware*, and these steamers, with the *Saratoga* in tow, proceeded to attack Miramón's squadron, with the result that at midnight his two vessels were a prize of the United States force, and were shortly after sent to New Orleans for adjudication by an admiralty court. The right of the United States to interfere in this manner in the Mexican quarrel is not clear. In fact, the capture of those vessels was eventually pronounced illegal by the United States court at New Orleans, but the injury inflicted on Miramón's cause, in depriving him of the services of his ships, and of the war material they had brought, was past

all remedy. The operations of the siege brought him no satisfactory results. Negotiations were again attempted to bring about a peaceful arrangement, but they failed before the fixed determination of Juárez to listen to no proposition whose terms were not fully in accord with the constitution of 1857, nor would he assent to foreign intervention in the settlement of his country's affairs.

The besiegers bombarded Vera Cruz from the 15th to the 20th of March, without inflicting serious damage, while their own casualties from warfare and disease were quite large. Miramón became convinced that his enemy had foiled him, and he began his retreat on the 21st toward his lines at Orizaba and Jalapa, the liberal guerillas constantly harassing him. On the march a large number of his men deserted and joined the liberal army.

The tide of Miramón's fortune was now turning against him. President Zuloaga, whom Miramón had virtually kept a prisoner, made his escape from Leon, which was a cause of much alarm. The disappearance of the man who gave Miramón a legal status was a serious affair, for he might recall his decree of 1859, under which that general was acting as president, and reassume his office, or appoint some one else his substitute. This difficulty was, however, overcome by the council of state slurring over the plan of Tacubaya, which created it, and declaring that Miramón should continue in charge of the government. Zuloaga's pretensions being thus ignored, Miramón was chosen president *ad interim* by a board of departmental representatives. The liberals now felt confident that the resources of their enemies were fast becoming exhausted. The latter had been forced to abandon several important strongholds, in addition to their retreats from Vera Cruz and Sayula. The triumph of the liberals appeared certain in the near future, and hope began to be entertained that notwithstanding the hostile attitude of England, France, and Spain

toward the Juarez government, Mexico would soon reach the welcome day of free institutions, law, and order.

The reactionists under Miramón's immediate command met with a terrible disaster at Silao on the 10th of August, and the victors advanced upon Querétaro, constantly augmenting their strength on the march. Nothing daunted by the reverse, Miramón reorganized his forces with his characteristic energy, resolving that the final decision of arms should be in the valley of Mexico. In the midst of the turmoil, arrived at Vera Cruz Joaquin Francisco Pacheco, accredited as Spanish minister plenipotentiary to Mexico. He concluded to present his credentials to Miramón at the city of Mexico, thus ignoring the legitimacy of Juarez as chief magistrate of the republic. By means not altogether honorable, he obtained permission of Juarez to pass into the interior, and was received at the capital with great pomp. Toward the end of November came Dubois de Saligny, the new French minister, whose instructions were to recognize Miramón's government. A convention had been already entered into by Great Britain, France, and Spain, in which Prussia was also to have a part, for assisting in the affairs of Mexico, even if the United States government objected to it. They proposed an armistice for one year, to enable the Mexican people freely to express through a constituent congress their preference as to the principles that should underlie their government. To the American government they represented that in view of the weakness of the two contending parties, and of the fact that neither the United States nor Spain had consented to act solely, they had undertaken a humane mission in their endeavor to restore peace to distracted Mexico. But this proposal, like other similar ones, found no favor with Juarez, who would take no action whatever not grounded on the constitution of 1857, from which his authority emanated.

And now the star of the liberals is seen in the ascendant. Gonzalez Ortega, with seventeen thousand men, lays siege to Guadalajara, and compels the reactionist Castillo and the garrison of seven thousand to evacuate the place without arms. The constitutionalists afterward, on the 10th of November, 1860, rout the army of Marquez at Calderón. Marquez and Velez take to Mexico the news of their own defeat. Miramón calls a council of prominent citizens, among whom are the archbishop of Mexico, the bishop of Monterey, several other high ecclesiastics, and a number of generals, and frankly lays before them on the 30th of November the exact situation, and the meeting resolves that the city shall be defended to the last. The reactionary government had never established any financial system; its resources had proceeded from contributions of the city, or forced loans. Miramón, being now without means to support his troops, allows the chief of police and a force of workmen to break into the house of a Mr Barton, on whose doors were the seals of the British legation, and to carry away some seven hundred thousand dollars against all protests, and in disregard of the fact that the money belonged to British bondholders. With these funds, Miramón reorganizes his army, and makes preparations to fight the hosts, marching to attack the capital. On the 5th of December he makes a sally, and gains a victory, which facilitates the carriage of provisions into Mexico.

What are these petty successes, however, to the coming hither of Ortega with 10,000 men and 44 pieces of artillery? Leaving Querétaro on the 10th of December, he meets the enemy on the heights of San Miguel Calpulápan, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 22d a battle begins, which in two hours ends the three years' war for the intellectual emancipation of Mexico. It is a repetition of the old Napoleonic tactics; Ortega drives straight for Miramón's centre, breaks the army of the enemy, who abandons

his artillery, trains, ammunition, and wounded. The army is utterly routed. Religious despotism lies forever crushed.

The defeated General Miramón reached the capital at two o'clock the following morning, and summoned a council of ministers, at which were present the representatives of France and Spain. The result of their deliberations was, that two diplomates, with the liberal generals Berriozábal and Ayestarán, whom Miramón had taken prisoners in the battle of December 8th, repaired to Ortega's headquarters to treat regarding the terms of capitulation. The liberal commander-in-chief declined to listen to anything short of unconditional surrender. When the commissioners returned on the 24th, it was quickly understood that each must look out for himself. Miramón surrendered the city to Degollado and Berriozábal, and then, with Zuloaga and other prominent reactionists, assembled at the Ciudadela, where they divided among themselves the sum of \$140,000, after which they started off together on the Joluca road. Miramón remained in concealment some time at Jalapa, and finally reached the coast, when a French man-of-war's boat conveyed him to the ship *Mercure*, which bore him away to Europe, whence he returned, not long after, to play a most important rôle in subsequent events.

The victorious army, now 25,000 strong, entered the capital on the 1st of January, 1861, amid the plaudits of the people, who had draped their houses in white, and now cast flowers and laurel wreaths upon the brave men who had risked their lives to secure this magna charta of their country's liberties, and the restoration of the reign of law and justice.

President Juarez hastened to reach the capital, where he arrived on the 11th of January. His partisans, and a large number of high military and civil officers, went out as far at Guadalupe to meet him. He entered the city in an open carriage, amid the acclamations of the people, while the artillery saluted in

his person the chief magistrate of the republic. In a manifesto to the nation, after congratulations on the success of the constitutional cause, he solemnly pledged himself to surrender the executive authority to the elect of the people, as he had ever regarded it as a sacred trust for which he must render a strict account.

Mark the nobility of these sentiments, so different from the wrangling demagogues who spend their lives in selfish grasping at power!

Legality and reform indeed had triumphed. A few scattered bands still roamed at large, committing depredations, but the war was at an end. Juarez and his counsellors had now the task of administrative reconstruction, which presented many difficulties, chief among which was the carrying out of the laws issued at Vera Cruz, and the reorganization of the public powers. No act of the government which had emanated from the law of Tacubaya could be recognized as valid; hence orders were issued to dismiss from the service all officers of high rank who had served in the reactionary army, and to prosecute officials and others who had supported it.

Among the first measures adopted by Juarez was the expulsion of the Spanish ambassador, the minister of Guatemala, and the pope's nuncio. The same action was taken with regard to the mission of Ecuador, but it was rescinded a few days later. The order addressed to Luis Clemente, archbishop of Damascus, and papal nuncio, was couched in the following words: "It is by no means proper that the supreme government should permit your residence here, after what you have made this people suffer, after what you have cost this nation, after so much blood has been shed on this soil because of the scandalous participation of the clergy in this most unholy civil war. Now that constitutional order has been established, his excellency the president has ordered that you leave the republic in as brief a time as may be necessary for

making preparation for your journey." Likewise the ministers plenipotentiary were ordered to depart, because of the efforts they had made on behalf of the enemies to liberalism, who for three years had occupied the city of Mexico. The principal instigators of the revolution, however, had been the bishops and their clergy. A great majority of the liberal party demanded that they should be prosecuted, and such as were convicted of treason to the nation, punished; but the government resolved on milder measures,—the exile of the archbishop of Mexico, the bishops of Michoacán and of Potosí, and the bishop of Tenagra, in partibus infidelium.

At this time the ministers of Juarez, Ocampo, Llave, Ortega, and Empáran resigned their portfolios in order to leave free action to the president, and their successors were, Ignacio Ramirez, Guillermo Prieto, Miguel Anza, and Jesus Gonzalez Ortega. The new cabinet continued the work of reform, among which were the organization of public instruction, and the gathering of the nuns into a smaller number of convents. Military operations were limited to the pursuit of the reactionary bands which were preying upon defenceless towns. One of these marauding bands operated in the state of Mexico under the leadership of Leonardo Marquez, one of the ablest among the Mexican commanders, in whose company was ex-General Zuloaga, still calling himself president of the republic.

Meantime the elections for chief magistrate, and for deputies to the national congress, called for by Juarez from Vera Cruz on the 6th of November, 1860, took place, resulting in a large majority for Juarez, his only formidable rival, the able and staunch Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, having suddenly died before the election.

In the first flush of victory, the government had ordered, on the 11th of January, 1861, that the leaders of the reaction should be brought to trial under

the law against conspirators, and on conviction should be put to death. The first person to fall under this rule was one of Miramón's late ministers, Isidor Dias, who was convicted and sentenced to be shot. But Juarez, being neither vindictive nor bloodthirsty, at once commuted the sentence to the very mild punishment of exile for five years. This action caused alarm in the liberal ranks, most of whom regarded such leniency as rank injustice, while those guilty of lesser crimes were often punished with death. But Juarez was resolved that bloodshed and persecution should cease; he would not rear an edifice to liberty on the bones even of traitors. Hence, early in March a decree of amnesty was issued, from the benefits of which were excepted only a few of the principal reactionists. But congress took a different view, and on the 4th of June passed an act of outlawry against prominent reactionists, among whom were Zuloaga, Marquez, Mejía, Cobos, and Lozada, for whose capture large rewards were offered. About this time the kidnapping and murder of Melchor Ocampo, Juarez' former secretary of relations at Tepejí del Rio, brought on great feeling, and many conservative leaders would have answered with their lives but for Juarez. Ocampo was a man of broad and cultivated intellect, and he had rendered valuable services to his country as deputy, senator, governor of Michoacán, and minister of state. He had ever led a pure life, and was an unselfish reformer. His death was universally deplored. Marquez, Zuloaga, and Cajiga were accused of being concerned with the "execrables asesinos," who had executed Ocampo on the 3d of June, 1861. Marquez' band also murdered General Leandro Valle in the monte de las Cruces. Degollado likewise became the victim of a cowardly assassin.

At the opening of congress, Juarez in his address spoke of what the liberal party had done, claiming no merit for himself, and added: "The government believed it to be its duty to place itself at the head of

the national sentiment in colors indicative of the abuses of the past and the hopes of the future. Hence sprang the reform laws, the nationalization of mortmain estates, freedom of worship, absolute independence of the civil and spiritual powers, the secularization of society, whose forward march was checked by a bastard alliance in which the name of God was profaned, and human dignity outraged. The reform imparted energy to the brave defenders of the constitution; the reform has been sanctioned by the unanimous vote of the people, and the laws that decreed it are now an essential part of our institutions."

The conservative party, however, still continued its cry of *Religión y fueros*! And having lost all hope of winning their cause before the tribunal of the whole nation, they determined to try coercion with the help of foreigners. They would force ecclesiastical tyranny and European despotism on this people if they could—crimes beside which ordinary murder and robbery are small offences. Desperate indeed must be the situation engendering such infamy, and desperate it was. The party was nearly annihilated; the property of the clergy, which had been the mainstay of the war, was being scattered; free discussion by the press, free instruction in schools and colleges, and tolerance of worship were rapidly melting the iron crusts of ignorance and superstition. Better a throne supported by strangers; better rule through France or Spain than not at all.

Juarez had to encounter not only the unreasonable demands of rabid partisans, but the obstacles constantly thrown in his path by office-seekers and provincial leaders, who during the disorders of the war had accustomed themselves to independent action, and now objected to the enforcement of rules necessary to the consolidation of the republic and general advancement. The liberals now split into two factions, the constitutionalists abiding by the organic law of 1857, and the reformists, who demanded radical amend-

ments. There was a third faction sprung from the party, with conservative sympathies, whom the clergy were ably sustaining. Among other difficulties was the financial question, involving the suspension of payments, taxes, and forced loans. Upon these points it was impossible to secure a cabinet to act with any degree of unanimity; hence the repeated changes of members. There was no great difficulty in suspending the payment of the home debt; but foreign creditors, backed by their respective governments, were more arbitrary in their demands. On the 13th of July, Juarez formed a cabinet composed of Zamacona, Balcárcel, Ruiz, Zaragoza, and Nuñez, whose first act was to propose the suspension of payments for two years, including the British debt. Congress passed the law in secret session on the 17th of July. Du Bois de Saligny, acting for France and Spain, protested. For immediate requirements, farming out the customs revenue at \$400,000 a month was proposed, or failing in this, then a resort to monthly forced loans. The merchants opposed the plan, and congress in special session failed to find a remedy.

Meanwhile Almonte informed his fellow-reactionists that he would soon arrive in Mexico backed by European naval forces. Next came the news that Gréat Britain, France, and Spain had, on the 31st of October, 1861, entered into a convention to jointly intervene in the affairs of Mexico. Toward the end of November, though the suspension law of July 17th had been rescinded, France and England had discontinued diplomatic relations. The object of the tripartite convention was merely to occupy Vera Cruz until payment for alleged grievances and debts could be secured. Spain's claims were of some importance, but those of France were insignificant. England's grievances were solely of a pecuniary nature, which Mexico had offered to settle without delay. The United States government offered to pay England and France the interest on their claims for a time, and later made

the same proposition to Spain. But the offers were not accepted. The United States government could interpose no objection to the efforts of Europeans who wished to collect their debts, and were not after territory, nor desired to affect the political status of Mexico. But it took care to see that its own interests should not suffer thereby; wherefore it signified its intention to keep a naval force wherever conflict might take place.

The ultimate object of the powers was not well understood at first; but the fact was, they had resolved, in the event of not obtaining redress by the mere occupation of the coast, that their forces should invade Mexican territory, even to the capital itself; and should the Mexicans act for a European protectorate to rid themselves of tyranny, or to form a stable government, the three powers would jointly coöperate to bring about their wishes. But President Lincoln intimated to Juarez that if European forces should land on Mexican territory, the United States would aid Mexico.

Learning of Spain's preparations at Habana, Juarez prepared for defence. First he gave orders for strengthening Vera Cruz, but seeing that it would avail nothing, he removed the guns from the fortress San Juan, and abandoned the place. England's claim he succeeded in adjusting, but congress failed to ratify the settlement. A ministerial crisis followed, and Juarez found himself without a cabinet, until Manuel Doblado, a patriotic and able citizen, took charge of the portfolio of relations, together with the presidency of the cabinet. At his solicitation, congress granted the president extraordinary powers, which were to be used for the preservation of the nation. Meanwhile, a number of the reactionist chiefs, among them Negrete, Velez, and Argüelles, tendered their services to Juarez for the national defence.

The threatened invasion took place on the 14th of December, when a Spanish fleet under Rear-admiral

Rubalcava, conveying an army of occupation, without meeting with resistance, took possession of the port of Vera Cruz. General Gasset with the land forces occupied the city on the 17th, and issued a manifesto that he would hold the place in his queen's name until the arrival of the French, English, and Spanish commissioners. Mexico was indignant. Active measures were adopted. General Zaragoza started from the capital with 3,000 men, and troops came in from every quarter. Juarez made a requisition for 52,000 men, extended the period of the amnesty law, and decreed a tax of 25 per cent additional upon all imposts, as well as another of two per cent upon all property valued at \$500 or upwards. Gasset's forces in their incursions into the interior lost many men killed by the jarochoes. Martial law was declared in the states of Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Vera Cruz, and Tamaulipas. Here was seen the Mexican flag waving side by side with those of the allied powers, until the British and French fleets arrived on the 6th and 7th of January, 1862.

The agreement between the allied powers had been that Spain should contribute 6,000 men, France 3,000, and Great Britain a strong naval division, and 700 marines to land on the coast when necessary; but the latter did not furnish as many vessels as she had agreed to. The plenipotentiaries of the powers were: Wyke and Dunlop for England; Saligny and Jurien de la Gravière for France; and Prim for Spain, having at the same time the command of her forces. There was no clear understanding how far they were to carry intervention. The British had been directed not to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico; all representations to the Mexican government were to be made jointly; nothing had been said about the British contingent marching to Mexico. Spain's troops had orders to march to the capital if necessary. Prim and Jurien had similar instructions. If Mexico refused the terms, active operations were

to be begun. Prim's manifesto, on his arrival at Vera Cruz, though not entirely truthful, was moderate and decorous in tone. Any intention to interfere was denied. Saligny and Jurien expressed themselves to the same effect, but Prim well knew that their master contemplated creating a Mexican throne, to be occupied by an Austrian archduke, and resolved not to aid the scheme. The English wanted to secure the payment of their claims, to reduce the import duties, and to have freedom of religion established—calicoes and bibles, as a Mexican writer catalogued their requirements. Almonte, Father Miranda, and Haroy Tamariz landed at Vera Cruz, and with other prominent reactionists tendered their services to the intervention. Miramón arrived also, and was arrested by the British authorities on one of their frigates for the theft of the British funds at the capital in 1860, and later was sent to Cuba.

On the 19th of February a convention was signed at La Soledad by Doblado and Prim, as preliminary to further negotiations. The allied forces were to occupy Córdoba, Orizaba, Tehuacán, and adjacent country; but if negotiations were broken off, the allied troops should retire within their lines. The convention was ratified by Prim's French and English colleagues on the same day, and by Juarez on the 23d. In all these proceedings Juarez was fully recognized as chief of the republic. But Saligny and his Frenchmen were in no sense men of truth or honor. They had come hither, in conspiracy with traitors, to plant imperialism in Mexico, and a little matter of perfidy should not stand in their way. Instead of retiring toward Vera Cruz, as they had agreed to do, while yet the negotiations were proceeding more Frenchmen arrived under Lorencez. Then it came out that it was their intention to make Maximilian emperor of Mexico. After several stormy conferences, the Englishmen and Spaniards departed from the country, leaving the French to accomplish their unhallowed purpose.

Juarez solemnly declared that Mexico would defend herself to the last extremity. It soon became evident, further, by the increase of the French forces and the encouragement given to the conservatives and monarchists, that Napoleon and his tools contemplated the extirpation from Mexico of republicanism, which it pleased them to call anarchy.

The French plenipotentiaries, on the 16th of April, issued from Córdoba an invitation to all friends of the intervention to join their standard. They had not come to wage war against Mexicans, they said, but to save them from arbitrary rule. The next day Almonte issued a manifesto calling on the people to trust in the French assurances. He sent emissaries into the interior to undermine the loyalty of the liberal troops, and circulate revolutionary manifestoes. He was proclaimed, by Taboada and others, president at Córdoba, which movement was seconded at Orizaba, of which place the French had repossessed themselves and whither Almonte and his supporters now repaired. On the 27th of April, by order of Almonte and Lorencez, Taboada left Córdoba with 300 Mexican cavalry for Orizaba, and the next day the French division, 6,000 strong, commenced its march for Puebla, where they were met by the liberal forces under Zaragoza, Diaz, Negrete, and others, and the famous Cinco de Mayo battle ensued, which resulted in the discomfiture of the Frenchmen, who retreated to their camp at Los Álamos, and thence back to Orizaba, to await the arrival of reinforcements from France. The success of the Mexican arms in this first encounter filled the whole nation with joy—all save the traitors who were coöperating with the enemy. Zaragoza had captured a considerable number of French prisoners, many of them wounded, together with a quantity of decorations found on the field of battle. The uninjured prisoners and all the decorations Juarez caused to be returned to the French camp. The wounded were properly cared for, and

when able to travel were likewise sent back to Lorencez. The conservatives and monarchists hastened to swell Almonte's ranks, while Juarez was still energetically meeting the emergency. Comonfort was given command of Tamaulipas. Juarez then moved his residence to Tacubaya. Doblado retired from the government, and assumed the command in chief of the army of the interior. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Juan Antonio de la Fuente, the author of the law on religious toleration. Juarez was indefatigable in his efforts to secure the execution of financial measures in the states, and endeavored to disprove the malignity and falseness of the European charges by extending to foreigners, even the French subjects residing in the country, a most considerate protection.

A great misfortune befell the Mexican nation on the 8th of September, 1862, in the death, from typhoid fever, of Zaragoza, to whom was largely due the success before the walls of Puebla on the 5th of May. The republic has since honored his memory by adding his name to that of the city he so gallantly defended, and the Puebla de Zaragoza is proud of this distinction.

After Zaragoza's death the command of the army was intrusted to Gonzalez Ortega, the efficient officer who had crushed conservative power at the hills of Calpulalpam. About the same time the French commander, Lorencez, was superseded by General Forey, who had come from France with reinforcements. He did not obey his astute master, who had told him "to vigorously check every act or expression that could wound the feelings of the Mexican people; not to ignore the haughtiness of their character; and to conciliate the inhabitants by all possible means." True, the contempt with which he treated the reactionist chiefs, traitors to their country and to all true liberty, they richly deserved; but when he falsely charged Ortega with purposes involving treason, he gave Americans a lesson in European morals and French

official integrity which were not at all difficult to apply.

Throughout all this disgraceful and bloody proceeding on the part of the French, Juarez never for a moment thought of yielding. He might die, all Mexico should die, in so far as he could order events, before submitting to a slavery worse than death. Therefore when the French forces appeared again before Puebla, and besieged the city from March 22 to May 19, 1863, the garrison could only do its best, and that was prodigies of valor, repulsing repeated assaults, while food and ammunition became exhausted, and all hope of help from Comonfort was gone, he having been defeated by Bazaine on the 8th of May upon the heights of San Lorenzo. So reduced became Ortega's army by this long and terrible siege, that a sally in force with any reasonable chance of breaking the enemy's lines and escaping was a physical impossibility. Under the circumstances, the Mexican commander tendered proposals of capitulation to Forey; but so unreasonable were the Frenchman's demands that Ortega adopted a measure unequalled in the annals of war, which was nothing less than breaking up the small arms, rendering useless the artillery and the little ammunition still left, concealing the flags, and dissolving the army. On the 17th, Forey was notified that he might enter and take possession, which he did, gaining little glory or profit thereby; for 26,300 men with powerful armament had taken all this time and labor to subdue a place hastily and imperfectly fortified, and defended by militiamen, few of whom had been trained to arms. The officers were parolled; some of them violated their pledge and escaped, while others were conveyed to France, where it was afterward demanded of them that they should pledge their allegiance to the newly created empire. Those who refused were turned adrift to starve—a dastardly proceeding from any point of view. A number of

them were afterward enabled to return to their country through the noble efforts in Spain of Prim and Santa Álvarez.

Dark indeed was the hour, coming so early in the conflict, this defeat of Comonfort, and the destruction of the army of the east at Puebla; and Juárez deemed it prudent, with his government, to abandon the capital on the 31st of May, as the city could not be held with only 6,000 men. The populace clamored loudly for a decree of expulsion of French residents, but Juárez refused; war to the death for the expulsion of invaders, but no injustice to residents—such was the president's position.

With the more immediate friends of the government, and a portion of the army, Juárez repaired to San Luis Potosí, making Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada chief of his cabinet, and Comonfort minister of war. Another division of the forces, under Berriozábal and Díaz, retreated in the direction of Toluca and Morelia, and the city of Mexico fell into the hands of the French army.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the means adopted for forcing monarchical government on Mexico by the church party, backed by French bayonets. Suffice it to say, that Saligny empowered 35 persons to elect a provisional government in the form of a triumvirate composed of Almonte, Archbishop Labastida, represented in his absence by Ormaechea, and the superannuated and almost imbecile ex-president Salas. A few days later there came together an assembly of notables, so called, whose powers to represent the Mexican people emanated from Forey. This body, on the 10th of July, passed a decree, the execution of which was intrusted to the foreign bayonets. 1. The nation adopts for its form of government a moderate hereditary monarchy, with a catholic prince. 2. The sovereign will bear the title of emperor. 3. The imperial crown of Mexico is tendered to H. I. H. Prince Fernando Maximiliano, archduke of Austria, for him-

self and his successors. 4. In the event that, owing to circumstances which cannot be foreseen, the archduke Fernando Maximiliano should not take possession of the throne thus offered him, the Mexican nation leaves to the benevolence of Emperor Napoleon III. to designate the catholic prince to whom the crown shall be offered. Against the first article there were two votes out of 231, and only nine out of 220 against the fourth. Such was the plot initiated by a few conservative emigrés, which obtained the support of the French government, on a prior acceptance by Archduke Maximilian. The proceedings were regarded by the Mexican people as a farce; and though weakened by long-continued civil war, they did not hesitate to enter upon a desperate struggle against the invaders. The constitutional arms, however, met with continued reverses; in fact the most important parts of Mexico, embracing the rich mining and agricultural regions between latitudes 18° and 23° , and containing two thirds of the population, and the chief manufacturing and trade interests, were brought under imperial sway.

While Maximilian was received in Mexico under triumphal arches, and surrounded by a crowd of sycophants, the true government was forced to wander about like an outcast in its own land. Upon the approach of Mejía with a large army, Juarez moved to Saltillo, leaving Negrete at San Luis, but Mejía entered the place on the 24th of November. The French army at first occupied only the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico; but after Forey had left the country, and Bazaine assumed the chief command, its operations became more extended. In a short time Oajaca, defended by Diaz, fell into its hands; fights were of daily occurrence around Jalapa; a French division occupied Guadalajara, and Marquez held Morelia against the liberal army of Uraga. During the year 1864, there were 102 engagements, with 3,267 killed and 1,300 wounded; and in 1865, 322

engagements, with 5,664 killed and 1,269 wounded; making a total in two years of 424 actions, in which 8,931 were slain and 2,569 wounded. So much for this puppet play at despotism in America by a French emperor and an Austrian archduke; let this be borne in mind when comes the day of reckoning.

Juarez and his ministers reached Saltillo on the 9th of January, 1864, on which day they heard of Negrete's defeat and abandonment of San Luis Potosí. At this time occurred the defection of Vidaurri, governor of Nuevo León. Juarez issued a decree removing him from office. Nuevo León and Coahuila rose in arms to uphold the constitutional government; Vidaurri fled, and Rejón, his secretary, was executed at Matamoros. The president and the ministry sojourned in Monterey till August 15th, when they were attacked by Quiroga at the same time that three columns of Franco-Mexicans were marching against the city. The president and his officials fled amid a shower of bullets, and were pursued by Quiroga's riflemen as far as Santa Catarina, where they took to the desert, facing hostile savages, and escorted by only a handful of men, their destination being Chihuahua, where they arrived on the 12th of October.

During this long and painful journey, Juarez saw more than one faithful adherent, more than one true friend, succumb—perish from exhaustion; but nothing could break his indomitable will, though there now remained with him scarcely twenty persons—so great was his confidence in the right. Add to all his other trials a severe illness which now overtook him, and we see something of the courage and fortitude of the man. A bilious fever, at this important point, came very near putting an end to his life. It was as nearly a lost cause as might be, at this juncture, and yet survive, for nothing but disaster befell the army, while even the associated patriots became petulant and quarrelled. Doblado and Ortega criticised Juarez' election, and asked him to resign, which he refused to

do, being convinced that the interests of the nation demanded his remaining at his post.

Maximilian committed two serious mistakes—the first in allowing himself to be deceived by his apparently enthusiastic reception, and the second in adopting the extreme measure of treating the liberals as bandits. Whatever the motive which prompted this action, the time came when he had to bitterly rue it. Juarez, on becoming aware of the lawless proceedings of guerillas, which cast dishonor upon his party, had managed to check them.

Maximilian had promised in Europe to restore the power of the church, but, pressed by the pope's nuncio, he prevaricated, assuring the papal representative that his measures would be in accordance with his conscience. He soon became convinced of the wisdom of Juarez in regard to the church, and that he could not safely undo what the liberal government had done. He made propositions, embracing, among other things, religious toleration, yet with a recognition of the catholic religion as that of the state. He did not offer to restore the church property or ecclesiastical supremacy. On the contrary, he desired the church to cede to the government all the revenue from property which republican rule had nationalized, and that he should have the same patronage over church affairs as had the king of Spain. On other points he was disposed to make concessions. The nuncio, disgusted, returned to Rome. Maximilian decreed religious freedom; the council of state was ordered to revise the nationalization of church estates, confirming sales legally made, and subjecting papal bulls to government supervision and approval, before they could be published. The clergy, who would not recognize the advance of liberal ideas, was roused to actual hostility. The emperor found himself driven by circumstances, as well as by his natural bent, toward the liberals; he failed in securing their support, and the conservatives

became lukewarm. At the same time, by his efforts to be an independent sovereign, he estranged himself from the French, who were the support of his throne.

Juarez established his government at Chihuahua on the 15th of October, 1864. His position in the second semester of that year was not altogether alarming. His leading generals still had 12,000 men, though somewhat scattered, and considerable means were received from the customs at three ports on the Pacific, from Piedras Negras, on the Texas frontier, and from Matamoros, to which must be added loans raised in the United States, forced contributions, church property, and other resources, besides the moral support of the northern republic. Arms were constantly coming in from Texas and California, and occasionally a few recruits. On the other hand, Uraga deserted and declared for the empire. Troubles appeared again in Nuevo León, and finally, in December, Nuevo León, and most of Coahuila, to the banks of the Rio Grande, submitted to the enemy. Chihuahua being threatened by the imperial forces, Juarez retired to Paso del Norte, where he could pass over the line into the United States at any moment. Such action became necessary; but he would never quit Mexican territory except as a last resort; and as for yielding, that was not to be thought of. To be captured was certain death.

On came the Frenchmen and took Chihuahua, but departed as quickly to defend some threatened posts. Then Juarez returned to the place on the 13th of November, but was forced to retire a second time to Paso del Norte. Dark indeed were these days for republican Mexico, the country overrun by foreign invaders, all Europe recognizing the emperor, patriot blood running in torrents from scaffolds erected by the usurper, the hope of the country resting alone on Juarez, and he hunted from place to place like a wild beast by these bloodhounds from Europe—Juarez the Indian, the Washington, the William Tell of Mexico,

standing immeasurably superior to any known native American, and embodying all that is best in the European—standing now alone, abandoned, persecuted, without soldiers, without supporters, and yet a host in himself, strengthened by his sense of duty, and a firm conviction in the justice of his cause.

Thus passed the year 1864, likewise the next—long enough time to try the soul and sinews of the strongest. But in 1866 the clouds begin to break. France at length gives heed, as the note of warning from Washington rises louder, and Secretary Seward emphasizes his order that the Frenchmen must go. Then all the world sees that the astute emperor has been making an ass of himself. The Anglo-American federation is not a mass of broken fragments, but one and indivisible, with a disciplined army of half a million men, who would hail with joy an order to pick up the Indian Juarez, and establish him, at the national capital, in the office to which he was chosen by the people.

And the Frenchmen did go, the 8th of March, 1867, seeing the last of them depart, leaving the young Hapsburg man to get out of the scrape as best he could. Poor Maximilian had been advised to abdicate and leave the country while he had the opportunity, but he could not bring himself to a shameful flight, abandoning his supporters to the vindictiveness of their enemies; and so he remained, trusting to his Mexican supporters and the foreign legion to sustain his now tottering authority.

As the French troops retired from the interior states, the constitutionalists advanced; when Juarez and his government reached Zacatecas, they had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of Miramón.

Later, Escobedo routed Miramón at San Jacinto, and took 1,000 prisoners, among whom was Miramón's brother, who, together with all the men of the foreign legion, were shot, in retaliation for brutal outrages of Miramón in Zacatecas. Guanajuato had been in the

hands of the republicans since January; Guadalajara was occupied by Corona. Mejía's imperialist division, under Castillo, had been defeated by Rivera. Colima had submitted to the republican government since December 1866, and Porfirio Diaz, after escaping from his prison at Puebla, had initiated his admirable campaign in the east.

The uprising for freedom was now general throughout the republic. Maximilian, with his foreign legion, and an army of recruits, shut himself up in Querétaro. Juarez and his government were again at San Luis Potosí. Diaz laid siege to Puebla; at the same time Escobedo surrounded Querétaro. Marquez, with a strong force, broke his lines, and proceeded by forced marches to Mexico, as the emperor's representative, in search of assistance. Deeming it necessary to attack Diaz, he was routed on the 10th of April, and fled with the remnants of his army into the capital. Diaz captured Puebla, and with reënforcements from all quarters laid siege to Mexico, which he might have bombarded, had he been willing to destroy lives and property; he might have induced the city to surrender, had he felt disposed to grant the personal guarantee of life and liberty each traitor asked for himself.

Maximilian behaved well throughout, like a soldier and a gallant fellow, as he was. But Querétaro at last fell into the hands of his enemies, and he saw he was caught in a trap, as he delivered his sword to Escobedo. It has been said that a colonel named Lopez treacherously left a position undefended, through which the republicans entered the city. With Maximilian were taken generals Miramón and Mejía. The prisoners numbered 15 generals, 20 colonels, 375 other officers; and 8,000 soldiers. This was on the 15th of May. On the 21st of June, the garrison of Mexico surrendered to Diaz. The traitor Vidaurri was discovered and shot. Marquez went into concealment and eventually escaped from the country, to which he was never allowed to return.

The war was at an end; the triumph of the republic was complete.

But what should be the fate of Maximilian? As a good man, a kind and gentle prince, the fair product of a fair environment, he ought to live; as an invader, a tyrant, the tool of a trickster, and the indirect cause of the death of ten thousand patriots, he deserved to die. He said he had been invited to come and rule Mexico. Who invited him? Not the Mexican people, struggling to maintain their liberties under a republican form of government; but traitors, and a church whose tyrannical demands even the tyrant himself refused to grant.

There was a law by which, as Maximilian had previously construed it, Juarez should be shot in case he was caught. But instead of ordering his captives shot forthwith, as by that law he had the right to do, Juarez, on the 1st of May, directed General Escobedo to detail officers for a court, and bring to trial Maximilian, Miramón, and Mejía, which was done. Every effort was made to save the archduke; but neither the efforts of his able counsel and of the Princess Salm-Salm, nor the tears of Miramón's family, nor the petitions and solemn promises of Maximilian, had the desired influence upon the court, which, on the 14th of July, declared the accused to be criminals against the nation, the *jus gentium*, and the public peace and order, pursuant to the law of January 28, 1862, and sentenced them to death.

What is Juarez to do? The world is horrified over the impending fate of Maximilian. So excellent a gentleman, so kind a prince! Crowned heads bow low and beg the president for his life. Even the American government yields to the prayer of the Austrian minister. The Austrian government pledges itself, through Secretary Seward, that Maximilian should renounce forever all his projects regarding Mexico.

There is but one thing for Juarez to do—as a patriot, as an honest man, a self-sacrificing man, who

cares more for his country than for the opinion of the world. A French emperor, usurper, and cowardly trickster—cowardly, because he never would have dared to send armies to Mexico had not the United States been engaged in civil war; this counterfeit of a former scourge, who makes of war a trade, of human butchery a pastime, unites with traitors to enslave the minds and souls of a people struggling to be free—sends men and arms to force these freemen to submit to the rule of a puppet he sets up in the person of a princeling of Austria, a good and amiable man enough in his way, but the representative and exponent of an infamous cause, thus making his acts infamous, whatever he himself may be. Failing in his wicked attempts, when adjudged to die, the world in horror cries for mercy—so sweet and gentle is this tool of a tyrant! Juarez, the Indian, though in no wise bloody-minded, says: No; Europe is your place, America mine. You, a scion of despotism, come hither to tap the veins of liberty, causing to flow rivers of blood, every drop of which is worth more than all your aristocratic veins contain, causing to die thousands of good men, every one of them a thousand times better than you, victims to your petty ambition, to your master's petty plottings. And must you escape, who have wrought this ruin—you, because of pity, poor princeling! A thousand times no. If almighty justice required atonement for the sins of a people, in the person of a well-beloved son, how much more does down-trodden liberty require retribution for your great crimes against this bleeding nation. Let it be written in the heavens, with a finger of blood, where it may be read by all nations, forever, that the European who meddles in American affairs shall die. In no act of his life did the true greatness and genius of this American Indian shine forth with greater lustre than in this sacrifice of the lamb of Austria.

In the history of the republic it is written that the president declined to grant the executive clemency,

and that Maximilian, Mimarón, and Mejía, who during their imprisonment had been shown every consideration, were shot upon the cerro de las Campanas on the 19th of June, 1867.

Juarez entered the city of Mexico on the 15th of July, and met with an enthusiastic welcome, amidst the acclamations of the people, the roar of artillery, and the ringing of bells. Flowers were strewn in his path, and flags and streamers waved all over the capital. The political chief at the head of the city council addressed him as follows: "The ayuntamiento of Mexico, representing the people, opens to you the gates of the city, rendering you due honor. This act is not the homage which a servile man with bent knee renders to the insolent despot, but the tribute that a freeman, with his heart swelling with pride and joy, pays to his liberator. Take, then, possession of the city, the seat of the government, and display as much wisdom in your administration as you have shown courage and energy in the late struggle, in order that the people who have looked upon you as the savior of the independence may likewise proclaim you as the destroyer of anarchy, and the guardian of the public liberties."

Juarez' first act was to assure the nation that during his absence of four years from the capital he had assumed no obligations derogatory to her independence and sovereignty, the integrality of her territory, or to the respect due to the national constitution and laws. Several imperialists were sentenced to death at Querétaro by court-martial, but the president pardoned them. The same clemency was not shown to O'Horan, Marquez' tool of oppression; the supplications of his mother, and petitions from every quarter, availed naught, and the sentence was carried into effect.

The government might now have disarmed party hatred, and gained the support of its former opponents, had it been so disposed. Unfortunately, a

large and prominent portion of the liberal party demanded a policy tending toward persecution, death, or imprisonment of the imperialist chiefs, and the confiscation of their estates. Much against the will of Juarez, the law of August 16, 1863, was enforced, but the penalties decreed thereunder the president commuted to a small fine.

It was hardly to be expected that men passionate by nature, sometimes brutal, always ignorant and superstitious, and stirred to the depths by long and bitter strife, should all at once blossom into serenity and peace. Mexicans are by no means angels. As a people, they have even to-day little idea of the true theory of self-government. It is a question whether Juarez at bay on the border of the republic, or Juarez at the capital attempting reconstruction and reconciliation, was least to be envied. Even the law of August 14, 1867, convoking the nation to the exercise of her elective powers, was an apple of discord. The constitutional reforms submitted were at once weighed by individuals by the standard of selfish interests. Those so lately dealing in blood were now hungry for place, and in nothing did Juarez resemble his associates and supporters less than in their selfish greed. He cared for the nation, the purity and perpetuity of the republic, and the intellectual freedom of the people—not for himself, for money, for power or place. To this every act of his life testifies.

Again Juarez laid down his office, and again was elected by popular vote president of the republic, with Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada president of the supreme court. Constitutional order was reëstablished, and various important measures initiated, among them several for the promotion of public instruction. Juarez' new cabinet consisted of Lerdo in the portfolio of relations, Iglesias in the treasury, Ignacio Mejía in war, Martínez de Castro in justice and public instruction, and Balcarcel in fomento, colonization, and industry.

On the 26th of August Admiral Tegethoff arrived at Vera Cruz on the Austrian steamship *Elizabeth*, to demand in the name of his government the body of Maximilian. The demand was refused, and the remains were not delivered until they had been respectfully asked for in the name of the family. The steam frigate *Novara*, which brought Maximilian to the shore of Mexico in 1864, took away his remains, which had been by Tegethoff conveyed to Vera Cruz, escorted by a federal force. The embalmed body was placed on board the frigate on the 26th of November.

In the mean time Santa Anna made his appearance at Sisal, but was taken prisoner, and conveyed to Vera Cruz, where he was tried. His past services, and the able defence of his counsel, Joaquin M. Alcalde, saved his life. The ex-dictator was sentenced to exile from the republic for eight years.

Juarez was inaugurated as constitutional president on the 25th of December, 1867, for the term ending November 30, 1871. Since the intervention and the recognition of the empire in Mexico by the European powers, the republican government had maintained diplomatic relations only with the republics of America; and of these all save Guatemala and Ecuador, whose respective rulers, Currera and García Moreno, had followed the example of Europe. Juarez maintained cordial relations with the United States, neglecting no opportunity to manifest his friendship and gratitude. At the opening of congress, in December, he spoke of the value of the constant sympathy of the people of the United States, and of the moral support its government had extended to the republican cause in Mexico. The Anglo-American republic had, all through the years of the foreign intervention and empire, kept a legation in the city of Mexico, but without holding relations with Maximilian's government. The good feeling of Mexico toward the United States was particularly shown when ex-Secretary Seward visited the country in 1869.

Diplomatic relations with European powers were renewed very gradually, the Mexican government pursuing an independent and decorous course throughout. It sought not to flatter or offend, least of all to throw obstacles in the way of negotiation of new treaties, especially those for the furtherance of commerce. European subjects were uniformly protected in their persons and property. Italy, the first to reopen diplomatic relations, was soon followed by Prussia, for the German confederation, in 1869; Spain, after changing her dynasty, did likewise in 1871. These friendly relations were established through the mediation of the United States; and in the same manner were relations restored between the republic of France and Mexico. There were further political convulsions which Juarez was destined to meet before his career was closed, yet for the most part they were such as would add strength to the principles of government initiated by the example and the perseverance of the hero of reform and pilgrim of Paso del Norte. His policy was ever characterized by a marked respect for liberal institutions, freedom of the press, free expression of opinion, and a general national decorum. Before the end of this same December the political horizon darkened, and the clouds burst in various parts of the country, in the form of war, either against the general government, or within the states against their own constituted authorities.

And all through the two years following, 1868 and 1869, the situation was anything but promising. On the 15th of December of the latter year a revolution broke out in San Luis Potosí against both the state and federal authorities, supported by a large part of the fourth division of the army. The government and legislature of Zacatecas seconded the movement, after seizing a conducta of \$60,000 belonging to private parties. The public peace was disturbed in Puebla, Morelos, and Hidalgo; in Orizaba the national guard was opposing the government of Vera

Cruz; in Jalisco there was a hostile feeling manifested against the national authority, while Julio Santa Anna was menacing Jalapa. Juarez then demanded and obtained of congress extraordinary powers, and using them with admirable discretion and energy, succeeded in crushing this formidable revolution within four months, after General Rocha defeated the insurgents at Lo de Ovejo, and Guadarrama, the discontented general at Jalisco, submitted to the federal authority. Of the authors of this disturbance some fled to foreign parts, others perished, and a number were subjected to the action of the courts. This revolution had left without a home or country many who, in the darkest hour of the nation's life, had rendered efficient service, when congress by the law of October 13, 1870, pardoned alike both traitors and rebels—those who had served the empire and those who had broken out in fresh revolutions. The whole country applauded the measure. The fact is, it was necessary to pardon liberally, if the population of Mexico was not to be seriously curtailed.

A few days later, Juarez was seized with a violent attack of brain fever, and grave fears were entertained for his life, but after eight days of anxiety he recovered, and again gave attention to public affairs. Toward the end of the year he was visited with another affliction, the death of his beloved wife, whose kindly qualities and general benevolence had won for her the love of all. The nation mourned her loss, while almost the entire population of the capital with sorrowful mien accompanied the remains to their last resting-place.

By this time had begun the agitation for the next election, which was to take place the following year. The party which sustained the government split into factions, one of which demanded the reelection of Juarez as a guarantee of the continuance of present liberalism and reform, while another faction supported

Lerdo, considering the reelection of an incumbent as anti-democratic. Both of the above factions called themselves conservatives. Then there were the constitutionalists, who took up Porfirio Diaz as their candidate.

In the midst of the electoral campaign the public peace was again disturbed by a mutiny of the garrison at Tampico, but this movement did not seem to have politics at its base. Rocha took the town by assault on the 12th of June, 1871. The presidential election took place the same month, the three candidates obtaining votes as follows: Juarez, 5,837; Lerdo, 2,874; and Diaz, 3,555. In the absence of an absolute majority of votes, the election devolved upon congress, which, on the 12th of October, 1871, chose Juarez, who took charge of office again on the 1st of December. The choice made by congress was ignored by the radical opposition, and a portion of a battalion, led by certain partisans of Diaz, seized the citadel of Mexico and the Belem jail. Juarez gave orders to attack the insurgents, who, at midnight, after a desperate resistance of ten hours, were defeated. This affair was a prelude to a revolution which the Diaz party was preparing against the reelection of Juarez, and whose centre was Oajaca.

Perhaps it would have been as well had Juarez here terminated his public career. Grant and others in the United States would have been held in no less esteem by posterity had they been less eager for a long continuance in office. Juarez was, perhaps, led to the step he took by the belief that the triumph of the other candidates would bring with it, in one of them, the domination of a very limited personal clique, and in the other that of men who had neither prestige nor any conception of administrative order. Even then he could have bequeathed to his successor a republic which in the four years of his presidency, from 1867 to 1871, had, amid so many difficulties, made more progress than in the fifty

years of civil and foreign wars which had preceded them. During those four years he carried out many important material improvements; others were initiated; the civil and penal codes were prepared; the public treasury was improved, and without levying extraordinary taxation, it covered all the expenses occasioned by the political revolts; the chief portion of the first Mexican railway was built with aid afforded by the government; public instruction was improved; the jury system was established for criminal prosecutions in the federal districts; commercial treaties were concluded with the United States, Germany, and Italy, and a beginning had been made toward restoring diplomatic relations with such nations as so desired.

When the revolution had formally broken out, Juarez obtained of congress discretionary powers to quell it. The insurrection had large resources at its disposal, but in the end Juarez' generals, Alatorre and Rocha, were victorious, the former capturing the capital of Oajaca, and the latter routing the main army of the opposition at la Bufa, near Zacatecas. Diaz, who, with much skill, had appeared with a force of cavalry before the national capital, retired to seek refuge in Jalisco. The revolution, which at first presented a bold front and threatened to be formidable, was easily crushed, more by the force of public opinion than by the force of arms. The constitutionalist party had lost its prestige, and all its moral force, with the assault embodied in its plan de la Novia.

Such was the political situation of the republic when the president was called to answer the summons which comes sooner or later to every one, rich and poor, high and low. On the early morning of the 18th of July, 1872, Juarez felt somewhat indisposed. That afternoon was noticed his absence from the paseo, where he was wont to stroll with his daughters. No one, not even himself, suspected that he was seriously ill. In the course of the day he expe-

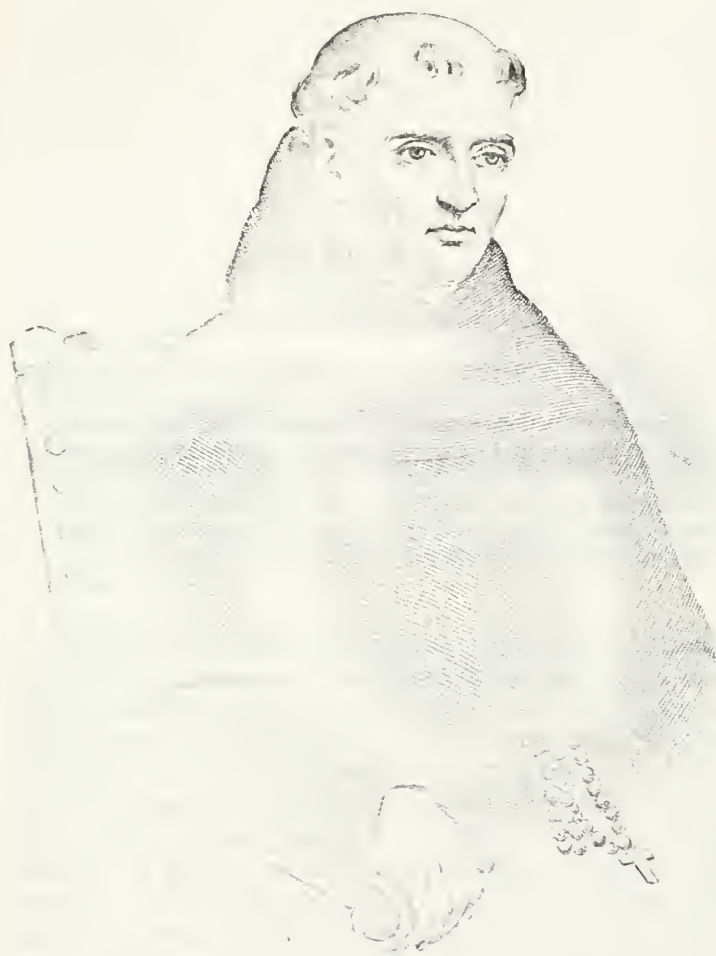
rienced an acute pain in one leg, and some difficulty in breathing. To divert his mind from himself, he conversed with his family and kept his eyes fixed on the portrait of his late wife. But toward night recurred the pains that had preceded a former heart trouble, which he at one time had suffered from, and the family became alarmed. Three eminent physicians, Barreda, Alvarado, and Lucio, labored in vain against the malady, and a few minutes past eleven o'clock, without any noticeable change in his features, he drew over his face the sheet which covered him as he lay upon his bed, and quietly breathed his last, surrounded by his children and a few personal friends.

The body was still warm, when, pursuant to the existing law, it was conveyed from his house to a room in the palace, on the shoulders of his aids, for the purpose of proceeding with the act of officially recording the death in the presence of the secretaries of state and of foreign relations. That night Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, was summoned by the cabinet to assume the executive office.

The embalmed remains of the late president were placed in a metallic coffin, which was enclosed in a mahogany case, garnished with sprigs of laurel and olive, and bearing the initials B. J. A magnificent hearse, drawn by six horses held in hand by six lackeys, conveyed the body to the San Fernando cemetery, to be placed in the family tomb. In an angle of the garden, in the small plaza of San Fernando, had been erected a monument in the form of the old Greek parthenon. The coffin was placed on a large urn, covered with laurel leaves made of gold and evergreens. In the upper triangle were inscribed alpha and omega, and on the top of the small temple was a bust of the dead president. Then with all the pomp at the capital's command the body was consigned to the tomb, and at a signal from the towers of San Fernando, the battery at the national palace

announced that the solemn ceremonies were at an end. Honors were subsequently paid to the memory of Juarez by several state and municipal governments, and in several foreign countries. Congress lost no time in making suitable provision for the statesman's family, in the form of pensions and otherwise. The remains were finally removed, in July 1880, from the family vault, and placed under a monument erected in San Fernando. Another monument was also erected for the wife. The late president left property valued at \$138,000, including \$17,000 of unpaid salary, besides a few manuscripts. With his death he bequeathed to his country the boon of peace. Opponents laid down their arms, and placed themselves under the constitutional flag.

Benito Juarez had ever an unfaltering faith in his mission. Old traditions he ignored; petty wrangles and temporizing policies he despised. Heeding only the dictates of duty, he opposed an iron will to the torrent of personal ambitions and party strife, to the wicked envy of a triumphant reaction as well as of a foreign invasion. He saved the constitution of 1857, by taking into his hands the reins of government at the time that the allied clergy and army were endeavoring to destroy it. Without him, the liberal party would have found itself without a leader, or even a cause to fight for. What would have been the fate of the republic, we might ask, if Juarez, the chief magistrate, without soldiers or resources, had faltered? Who would have taken up the struggle had he abandoned it? Indeed, in vain may we search history for a more wonderful example of human greatness and success—a poor, ignorant Indian boy, emerging from the wild mountains of Oajaca to link his name with some of the most radical reforms the civilized world has ever witnessed.



Fr. Ignacio Serra

CHAPTER IV.

THE POWER OF RELIGION.

EUROPEAN OCCUPATION OF THE CALIFORNIAS—KINO AND SALVATIERRA ON THE PENINSULA—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS IN LOWER CALIFORNIA—DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA—THE FRIARS ON THE SEABOARD—FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA IN THE FIELD—HIS LIFE AND WORKS—MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS—EVOLUTION OF A SAINT—VOYAGE HITHER—MISSION BUILDING—JUNÍPERO IN MEXICO—AT SAN DIEGO—AT MONTEREY—AT SAN FRANCISCO, SANTA BARBARA, AND ELSEWHERE—INCIDENTS OF HIS DEATH.

MISSIONARY enterprise in the Californias began in 1697, when the conde de Moctezuma, viceroy of Mexico, granted a license empowering the Jesuits Kino and Salvatierra to undertake, at their own cost, the conversion of the Californians. Crossing the gulf from the Yaqui country, Salvatierra brought to the shore of the peninsula the image of our lady of Loreto, whose name was given to the first California mission. Securely established at Loreto, as they thought, the Jesuits founded settlements elsewhere on the peninsula. Before his death, which occurred in 1717, Salvatierra reduced the affairs of the missions to so perfect a system that the form of government then established was adopted to a great extent by the Franciscans in Alta California. Priests, soldiers, and natives were all subject to a father superior, next to whom stood the rector of a district, of which at this time there were three. A visitador, with his consulta, made the circuit of all the missions once during

his three years' term of office. In harmony with the mission hierarchy was the secular arm, the soldiers being subject to their captain, who under the *visitador* was supreme in all civil, judicial, and military matters.

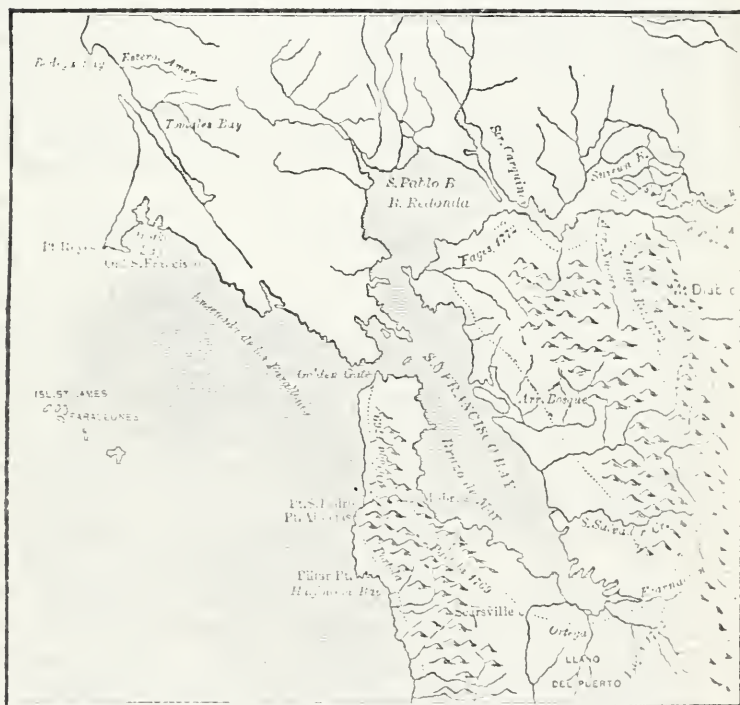
Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish dominions, in 1767, the California missions were tendered by Viceroy Croix to the Franciscan college of San Fernando, and the trust accepted, Junípero Serra being placed in charge as president, with Francisco Palou, Juan Moran, and others, as his more immediate associates. Entering upon their peninsular field of labors, soon came Don José de Galvez as *visitador-general*, with powers to advance Spanish occupation up the coast to San Diego and Monterey. After careful investigation, he resolved to send four expeditions, two by land and two by water, to start separately, but all to unite at San Diego, and press on to Monterey.

Meanwhile the Dominicans, loath to see the late possessions of the Jesuits fall wholly to the Franciscans, petitioned the king early in 1768 for license to found establishments on the west coast of California, between latitudes 25° and 28°. The king disapproved of the project, fearing dissension, but was finally persuaded thereto, and on the 8th of April, 1770, granted a new *cédula*, dividing the missions of the peninsula between the Dominicans and Franciscans. The Dominicans desired the northern districts, including San Ignacio, Guadalupe, and Mulegé, their purpose being clearly to secure an open way to the north; but the royal *cédula* cited left the details of the division to the viceroy, who was instructed to give to each order a field for expansion northward, with limits so fixed as to avoid future contention. The guardian of San Fernando, and a junta held March 21, 1772, were in favor of a broader division. "You may take all of Lower California," said the Franciscans to the Dominicans, "all of the old

Jesuit missions, and their property, if you will leave to us the unoccupied field of Upper California." To this the Dominicans gladly assented; for not only was the peninsula nearer to Mexico, but the Jesuits had performed much labor, which would accrue to the benefit of their successors. They did not dream of the wide difference in the possibilities of the two sections. Hence, on the 7th of April, 1772, was signed by the Franciscan guardian, Padre Rafael Verger, and the Dominican vicar-general, Criarte, to whom the matter had been referred for final adjustment, a concordato by which the entire peninsula was given to the Dominicans up to a point just below San Diego, while the Franciscans were to have the field clear to themselves above that point. The former had the right to extend their missions eastward and northeastward, and the latter to the north and northwest.

The Franciscans embarked in their northward adventures on the 9th of January, 1769, when the *San Carlos* sailed with sixty-two persons on board, including Padre Parron and Lieutenant Fages, with twenty-five infantry from the mainland, many of whom died of scurvy on the way. The *San Antonio*, Juan Perez commander, sailed on the 15th of February, carrying, besides her crew, fathers Vizcaino and Gomez. The first land expedition, commanded by Rivera, and including Padre Crespi, Piloniti Canizaves, a company of twenty-five soldiers from the Loreto presidio, and forty-two native Californians, set forth on the 24th of March; and on the 15th of May, Portola, lately appointed governor of the Californias, with nine soldiers under Sergeant Ortega, President Serra, and another company of natives, began their journey northward, all to be reunited at San Diego at the beginning of July. Father Palou, who had filled for a time the office of president of the peninsular missions after the departure of Serra, arrived at San Diego, with six companions, toward the end of August 1773.

The discovery and exploration of the seaboard of Alta California had been effected by divers voyages since 1540. The result was a general knowledge of the coast-trend beyond Cape Mendocino; of the Santa Bárbara channel and islands; of the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and old San Francisco, near Point Reyes; and to some extent, of the climate, soil, and people.



MOVEMENTS OF THE DISCOVERERS.

Immediately upon his arrival, in July 1769, Junípero Serra founded his first mission, at San Diego. There were no converts for a long time, and the missionaries were constantly annoyed by the thefts and petty hostilities of the natives, as will be more fully shown hereafter.

While the padre president was engaged in these duties, Portolá and Crespi, with the main company, marched northward in search of Monterey, which port they reached in October, but did not recognize it, because of the exaggerated descriptions current since the time of Vizcaino. Nor did they halt until they came in sight of Point Reyes, and discovered the bay of San Francisco. Then they returned, reaching San Diego in January 1770. Again the main body of the missionaries, this time under Lieutenant Pedro Fages and Father Crespi, set their faces northward, and came to Monterey, where they founded, early in June 1770, the presidio and mission of San Carlos, the second settlement in Alta California; and for a long time this region was spoken of, at Mexico and elsewhere, as "the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey." The following year two new missions, San Gabriel and San Antonio, were founded, San Luis Obispo coming into line a year later. In 1772 Fages and Crespi reached the mouth of the great river in an unsuccessful attempt to pass around the new bay and reach old San Francisco. Quarrels began between the military and missionary authorities, as represented by Fages and Serra, and the latter went to Mexico, not only to unseat his enemy, but to work for the general interests of his beloved missions.

At the good beginning thus made the Franciscans were greatly pleased. Besides the presidio, with its garrison of sixty soldiers, there were now five missions, under nineteen friars, who had baptized about 500 natives. The live-stock brought from Lower California had increased to 200 cattle, 60 horses, 80 mules, 100 swine, and 160 sheep and goats. Father Junípero labored diligently in Mexico to inspire the government with some degree of his own enthusiasm respecting the future of the new California. He obtained many concessions, and returned to his mission field in March 1774.

The year 1775 witnessed the destruction of San Diego mission, moved the previous year to a site some six miles back from the bay, while in September and October of the year following were founded the presidio and mission of San Francisco, destined practically to be the northern frontier of Spanish occupation. Also, in 1776-7, besides the restoration of San Diego, were added two new missions, San Juan Capistrano in the south, and Santa Clara in the north. Monterey was made the capital of both Californias, where Felipe de Neve came to reside as governor, in February 1777. Before the end of this year the first California pueblo, or town, was founded, at San José, the new ruler not regarding the conversion of natives as the only desirable element in the building of Spanish empire. In 1779 the Manila galleon touched for the first time at Monterey, and the year following saw the country guarded by eighty soldiers in three presidios, a town with twenty inhabitants, and sixteen friars serving three thousand native converts in eight missions. There was a population of Spanish and mixed race of five hundred, and agriculture and stock-raising had been introduced with flattering prospects.

In 1781 the pueblo of Los Angeles was established, and in 1782 the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio of Santa Bárbara. Then, in 1784, came the death of the padre president, Fray Junípero, who had founded and governed all these mission establishments up to this time; after this were added to the line, Santa Bárbara mission in 1786; Purísima in 1787; Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791; San José, San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and San Fernando missions, and Branciforte pueblo, in 1797; San Luis Rey in 1798; Santa Inez in 1804; San Rafael in 1817; and Sonoma in 1823.

Having thus outlined the history of California occupation, let us proceed to the study of the life and character of the great founder of Christianity and civilization in these parts.

Junipero Serra was a native of Majorca, having been born in the town of Petra, in that island, November 24, 1713. His parents, Antonio Serra and Margarita Ferrez, were honest farmers of good repute, and the care which they displayed in the training of their son, who was by no means robust, mark them as exemplary members of society. A religious fervor was early implanted in the heart of the child, which controlled his life. He was baptized on the day of his birth, and named Miguel José, and was so called on his confirmation, May 26, 1715, when not yet two years old, it being the practice in that part of the catholic world to confirm children while very young.

His parents, besides instructing him in the rudiments of the faith, provided for his regular attendance at the convent church of San Bernardino, where he acquired a knowledge of Latin. Thus heredity and environment united to form an exceptionally devout nature. At a very early age he was eager to enter the St Francis order of friars, to which end he was taken to Palma, the capital of the island, and placed under the care of a beneficiary priest of the cathedral. There he remained for several years, studying philosophy and theology at the Franciscan convent, the wish to take the habit of the order daily increasing. Therefore, as soon as he reached the required age, he made application to the provincial for admittance. But as the youth was of diminutive figure and delicate appearance, the provincial postponed his reception for a time, admitting him, however, as a novice, into the convent of Jesus, outside the city walls, September 14, 1730.

He passed the year of his novitiate in studying the rules of the order, and in reading the lives of prominent Franciscans, his youthful soul being greatly moved thereby. Even now the determination arose within his breast, as soon as opportunity offered, to leave his home and country and go as a missionary to foreign parts. At the end of the probationary year he

formally professed, September 15, 1731, being not quite eighteen years of age. It was on the occasion of that solemn ceremony that he assumed the name of Junípero, out of his love and admiration for one of the companions of St Francis who bore that name. The day of his profession he marks as the starting-point of physical and spiritual manhood. "All blessings came to me by my profession," he exclaims. During his novitiate he had been sickly, and so small in stature that he could not read at the chorister's desk, but now health and strength came on apace, and he rapidly grew to medium height.

Transferred to the principal convent, at Palma, he continued his studies, in which he became so proficient that before ordination he was made professor of philosophy, and for three years taught in the convent. Before he had finished his philosophical course, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by the Lullian university, in which he occupied a professor's chair down to the time of his departure from his native isle. There also he won renown as a preacher, his oratory being so brilliant, his rhetorical skill so marked, his power of expression so graphic, and his doctrines so sound, that on one occasion, even an opponent was led to exclaim "This sermon is worthy of being printed in letters of gold."

But neither learning nor applause could take the place of piety; all other aspirations were consumed in the fires of missionary zeal, kindled by the writings of the fathers. For this work he was the chosen of God; to this end he had been created; in the execution of this divine purpose he would live and die. There need be no haste, no intervention of human plans; for all would be made plain. A brother friar, named Palou, was likewise filled with the same aspirations, and the two took counsel and comfort together talking over their hearts' desire. Hence in due time they asked and obtained permission from the commissary-general of the Indies to join a com-

pany of missionaries of propaganda fide, soon to embark for Mexico, and on April 13, 1749, they sailed from their native isle nevermore to return.

When he set forth in his important career, Padre Junípero was in the thirty-sixth year of his age, in the prime of manhood. But he was endowed with more than physical strength. Religious enthusiasm will probably carry a man further in the endurance of toil, danger, and suffering than any other motive, —military glory, avarice, or any feeling of love or hate. It embodies all these, and more,—all glory, the glory of God and man; all possession, whether of this world or the next; all love and all hate, the love of good and the hatred of evil. In the reward promised to the faithful there is nothing left to ask. All that God can give is already his, —blessings eternal, beside which the benefactions of this world, with all its riches, comforts, and honors, are as nothing. And what evil shall man do unto this chosen one of God? To kill the body is but to hasten the soul to glory. What would incite to heroic deeds, if not a service so sublime, offering such rewards? In the strength of their numbers, armies march out to battle; the soldier of the cross goes forth alone, himself a host, the armies of the Lord attending. The missionary annals of Mexico furnish many examples of self-devotion and heroism, of sufferings and martyrdoms, not the least thrilling of which are to be found in the adventures of those who planted the Christian faith in the Californias.

Junípero Serra was a born saint, not in the sense of canonization before birth, but of creation in the spirit and essence of sanctity; a material being ripe for martyrdom from the beginning, to whom it were equally easy, equally a necessity, living or dying for the faith. He was morally, rather than physically or intellectually, great. Self-devotion, self-sacrifice, lofty principles and purposes, and never-dying religious zeal, were the weapons by which he overcame all,

whether of the world, the flesh, or the devil. Give, as an adjunct to this sublime devotion, fair executive ability, which Junípero possessed, and if opportunity be present, results are sure to follow.

His portrait shows a fine facial outline, symmetrical rather than pronounced features, with no special indication of that state of exaltation to which his soul must needs have been raised before it could find its highest happiness in self-flagellations and suffering for Christ. Nevertheless, we find traces of a mystic reverence and pious thoughtfulness in those dark eyes, slightly sunken, shaded by strongly marked eyebrows, and telling of the religious fervor that spurred the anxious spirit onward, of the courage and indomitable endurance which we find him displaying under the severest trials, in the wild fields of missionary labor in the New World. About the mouth are signs of gentleness and refinement, rather than firmness and strength, and yet we know that he possessed all these; likewise amiability, benevolence, and a kind disposition,—traits which will be seen to come prominently forward as we accompany him on his journey through life. While each individual feature faithfully portrayed some prominent quality, the harmony of all in combination produced an expression proclaiming inner confidence and hopefulness. The countenance was illumined by the consciousness of rectitude in all his actions and intentions, and by the sweet reflection that his career was directed by omnipotence into paths of duty, and not left to drift under the impulses of vanity or ambition. The abiding hope and expectancy of approval on the part of his heavenly master, when he should enter the kingdom promised to the faithful, could not fail to affect the facial expression, flushed with the holiest impulses of the heart.

Humility, sincerity, earnestness, faithfulness, and all kindred virtues were written in unmistakable lines in his features. Yet, however great his humility, however complete his self-denial, his governing and

directing abilities raised him above other servants of God whose devotedness and abnegation of self were as conspicuous as his own. We find Junípero ever implicitly relying on providence, so deeply impressed with a belief in divine protection that all escapes from danger he attributes to the special intervention of the saints.

Taking passage in an English vessel sailing to Malaga, the two missionaries arrived at that port after a voyage of fifteen days. The discomforts attending ocean travel in those days were aggravated by the misconduct of the captain, who interfered with the performance of their religious duties. Further than this, being of a disputatious disposition, he persisted in discussing points of doctrine, and when defeated in argument, he lost control of his temper, and threatened to throw the two priests overboard and sail away for London. On the last occasion of a wordy contest between him and Fray Junípero, he suddenly drew a knife and held it at the padre's throat with the apparent intention of killing him. Discretion, however, prevailed, and the infuriated mariner retired to his cabin to sleep off his anger, while the priests passed the night in watchfulness and prayer. From Malaga they sailed to Cádiz, which port they reached on the 7th of May, and found that after they had taken their places there were still three more vacant in the missionary party about to sail across the ocean. Serra thereupon wrote to his convent at Palma, and padres Rafael Verger, Juan Crespí, and Guillermo Vicens responded to the call, and presently joined him. The expedition was divided into two parties, the first of which, consisting of a president and twenty missionary friars, among whom were Serra and Palou, sailed from Cádiz August 28, 1749.

The voyage was a long one, occupying no less than ninety-nine days, and marked by incidents which tested the patience and courage of the friars. Provisions became scanty, and at one time water was

so sparingly dealt out, that the supply was insufficient to quench thirst. Under all trials Junípero remained unmoved, enduring hunger with calmness, and endeavoring to quiet others, saying that by eating little and talking less, they would save saliva, and so find some relief from thirst. Arriving at Porto Rico about the middle of October, the ship took in water, and proceeded on her course to Vera Cruz. The voyagers were already in sight of port when a storm came on, which lasted for two days, and drove them back to the coast of Campeche. The danger was very great; the ship was expected to founder; and, what added to the horrors of the position, the crew became mutinous, and endeavored to force the captain to run the vessel ashore as the only means of saving some of their lives. Fortunately, before this extreme measure was enforced, the violence of the tempest abated, and the storm-shaken mariners entered the harbor of Vera Cruz on December 6th. During this time of peril Junípero preserved his usual tranquillity. When asked if he was not afraid, he replied: "I was somewhat so at first; but when I thought of my mission, fear departed."

At Vera Cruz, Palou was attacked by a dangerous illness, which forced him to remain there for some time. Though provision was being made by the government to transfer the friars into the interior, the eagerness of Fray Junípero urged him forward. He requested permission of his president to proceed on foot to Mexico without delay. Leave being granted, Serra, with only one companion, a missionary from Andalusia, started on his hundred-league journey. During the march the travellers were constantly beset by difficulties, from which they were delivered by the power of the almighty. Whether by the kind hospitality of the natives they escaped death from exposure and starvation, or were guided to fords in dangerous rivers in which they would otherwise have lost their lives, they recognized the interposition of the saints in

their behalf. Unused to such long journeys, Junípero's legs began to swell, and he was obliged to halt. One night, while resting at a hacienda, the swelling increased, becoming intensely painful, and before morning it broke, leaving a life-long sore, for the evil developed into a chronic ulcer, which caused the padre much suffering to the day of his death. But this accident did not long detain him; after a day's rest he continued on his way, and reached the sanctuary of our lady of Guadalupe on the last day of the the year 1749. The following morning the two friars went to the apostolic college of San Fernando, in the city of Mexico, where they were received with expressions of joy and brotherly love.

Six years previous to the arrival of Father Junípero in Mexico, the college of San Fernando had established five missions in the districts of Sierra Gorda, and the faculty needed missionaries. Accordingly, about the end of June 1750, Padre Junípero, with seven friars, among whom was his companion Palou, who ere this had joined him in Mexico, was sent to take charge of those missions, Serra being elected president of the party.

In that wild mountainous region the zealous apostle labored for nine years without ceasing. By imposing ceremonies, conducted in a manner to inspire reverence, he gradually won the hearts of the rude people with whom he labored. Quickly learning the Pame language, he was soon able to instruct them in the doctrines of the faith. He encouraged their devotion by his example; taught them humility and Christian charity by washing annually, in holy week, the feet of twelve poor Indians; and in his anxiety to impress the neophytes with the truthfulness of the word which he preached, and his immovable confidence therein, he performed many cruel acts of penance upon himself. His historian, Fray Francisco Palou, afterward made father guardian of the college of San Fernando, relates that Fray Junípero, when preaching

on special occasions, was accustomed to scourge himself in the pulpit in a terrible manner, with an iron chain, in imitation of Saint Francis. He would likewise strike his naked breast with a heavy stone, while holding aloft the crucifix in his left hand and reciting aloud the act of contrition. With such force did he deal the blows that his audiences were astonished that he did not break the bones of his chest. And the biographer further states that to this self-punishment was attributed the chest disease which finally caused Serra's death. Another method which Junípero employed to move his listeners to repentance, when discoursing on the eternal sufferings of the damned, was to lay bare his breast and burn his flesh with a lighted torch, enduring the torture without flinching, while the beholders shed tears of sympathy and contrition. On one occasion, while preaching in Mexico, he scourged his naked shoulders so unmercifully, while exhorting his hearers to repentance, that all the people burst into tears, while one of them, crying out "I am the sinner who should do penance," ascended the pulpit steps, took the chain from the father's hand, and so effectually followed the example of the friar that he sank down in a swoon, and shortly afterward died from the effects of the punishment, after the sacrament had been administered to him on the spot where he had fallen.

Nor did Serra neglect the temporal interests of his flock. He was careful of his neophytes, providing his mission with cattle and sheep, and with seed and grain. He taught the natives various industries: many of them became expert masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths; he instructed their women in the domestic arts of sewing, knitting, spinning, and weaving, so that when he left this scene of his labors, all the missions under him were in a flourishing condition, with well-filled granaries.

While Father Junípero was laboring in the Sierra Gorda, the college of San Fernando, in connection

with that of Querétaro, had attempted to establish missions among the fierce Apaches on the banks of the San Sabá. The attempt failed, Fray Terreros winning the crown of martyrdom. Thereupon a military expedition was planned by the viceroy, and Junípero received a letter from his superior calling him to the conquest of souls in the land of the Apaches. With instant obedience the father answered to the call, and presented himself at the convent in Mexico. But owing to the death of the viceroy the undertaking was indefinitely postponed, and Serra retired to his convent. During the next seven years he was engaged in missionary work in various parts of Mexico, preaching and converting sinners alike in populous cities and wild districts, travelling on foot for six months of the year, north and south, east and west, from Campeche to Sonora. It is estimated that he walked not less than two thousand leagues in passing from place to place in these journeyings. Many were the dangers to which he was exposed, and severe the hardships which he underwent. Nor are there wanting in the records of his life accounts of many escapes through miraculous intervention. On one occasion when celebrating the sacrament, after having partaken of the elements, he was seized with sudden illness, and had to be carried thence. No one doubted that he had been poisoned, yet he refused to take any of the antidote offered him, but, swallowing a little sweet oil, he recited the words found in St Mark's gospel: "They shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them." Later there was hung in the convent of San Fernando an oil painting representing Father Junípero holding a chalice from which was escaping a small snake. Another painting depicts him preaching in the open air on the occasion of a missionary revival. On the ground directly in front of him lies the chain with which he was accustomed to scourge himself; at his right foot stands the chal-

ice, with the snake twisting itself out; while at his left is a lighted torch supported against a human skull. In his left hand the father holds aloft a crucifix, and the right grasps a heavy stone, with which he is about to inflict self-punishment as penance for the sins of the people. The countenance is expressive of deep sorrow. The audience by which he is surrounded is composed of persons of various races and degrees, from the high Spanish official, with powdered hair and queue, lace ruffles, and court-sword, to the half-naked Indian, with his head-gear of plumes and primitive bow and arrows. All of them, men and women alike, are represented in various attitudes of devotion.

On the occasion of his departure for the California missions, elsewhere mentioned, Junípero and his companions took leave of the community on the 14th of July, 1767, all being deeply affected. "Go," said the guardian to the company, with tears in his eyes, "with the consoling knowledge that you have Father Junípero for your prelate, whom, by these presents, I appoint president of those missions. Obey him as you would obey me, and pray for me." Junípero was so deeply moved that he could not speak as he kissed the hand of his superior. The journey to Tepic, including a few days' rest at Querétaro and Guadalajara, lasted thirty-nine days, but owing to delay in the sailing of the vessel, they were unable to proceed to Lower California until the beginning of March 1768. On April 1st the vessel anchored in the roadstead of Loreto, the missionaries departed to the districts assigned to them, and Serra at once commenced his duties of visiting the different missions. After it was decided to establish missions in Upper California, Junípero enthusiastically engaged in preparations for the expedition, and was greatly assisted therein by the visitor-general, Galvez.

After the departure of the expeditions by land and sea, as already narrated, Serra remained at Loreto until the end of easter, 1769, being anxious to direct

the ceremonies of the church during those days of adoration. Then, accompanied by two soldiers and a single servant, he started northward to meet Portolá later, and continue the journey together. His foot and leg were in a terrible condition, and Fray Palou, at whose mission he called on the way, was so moved at the sight that he implored him to remain there, and let him go forward as his substitute. "Let us not speak of such a thing," was Serra's answer. "I have placed my confidence in God, and I hope that in his goodness he will allow me not only to reach San Diego to raise there the standard of the holy cross, but also Monterey." After three days' rest, the good padre proceeded on his journey, though it required two men to lift him into his saddle. Going from mission to mission, he took an affectionate leave of his former companions, and gave them advice and instruction. On his arrival at Velicatá, he found Governor Portolá encamped there, and in concert with him established a mission at that spot, erecting a cross on May 14th, dedicating the chapel they constructed to San Fernando. Father Campa was left in charge.

Continuing his journey in company with the governor, his sufferings became so intense that Portolá suggested that he should return. Junípero would not listen to such a proposition, and the compassionate governor ordered a litter to be made, and caused him to be carried by the Indian neophytes attached to the expedition. Camping for the night, a muleteer, at his request, applied a poultice composed of grease and pounded herbs, with which he was accustomed to treat the sores of his animals. The application was effective, and the relief afforded enabled the padre to continue his journey with less pain.

On July 1st they reached San Diego, having been forty-six days on the road since their departure from the new mission of San Fernando, and on the 3d, Serra wrote a letter to his friend Palou, in which, besides narrating an account of the expeditions by sea—both

vessels having arrived—he gives a concise description of the country and its inhabitants. The land expedition before mentioned, under the command of Portolá, having left on July 14th in search of the harbor of Monterey, Serra proceeded to establish the first mission in Alta California. This was accomplished, the foundation of the institution being laid on July 16th, when a cross was erected and the usual ceremonies on the establishment of a new mission were performed. The Indians approached, but not knowing their language, little could be done with them on the instant.



PALOU'S MAP OF CALIFORNIA MISSIONS.

Presents of trinkets and clothes were made them, and so eager were they to obtain articles of the latter, that they quickly displayed a ready aptitude for thieving, and soon became insolent and aggressive. On August 12th and 13th, they attacked the strangers for purpose of plundering, but were repelled. On the 15th, however, a more serious assault was made; the Indians assembled in great numbers, armed with bows and arrows, sabres of hardened wood, and war-clubs. Palou, with two of the soldiers, had gone on board

the *San Cárlos* to say mass, and only four of the military remained in the mission. Serra had just finished celebrating mass, when the Indians rushed into the settlement and began to plunder on all sides; the soldiers fired upon them, and a general conflict ensued. Fray Vizeaino was wounded in the hand, his servant, José María, was killed, being pierced through the throat, and two of the soldiers and an Indian neophyte were wounded, though not seriously. The effect of the fire-arms, however, terrified the assailants, and they presently withdrew, carrying with them their dead and wounded. After this encounter, the natives no longer molested the missionaries; fear and respect took the place of insolence and contempt; in a few days peace was established, the natives continuing their visits unarmed.

On the 24th of January, 1770, Portolá returned, having failed to discover the harbor of Monterey, but bringing the report that they had reached the bay of San Francisco, whereat Junípero resolved to found a mission there in honor of St Francis. But his purpose was destined to be delayed. The governor, finding his provisions running short, decided to abandon San Diego if he did not receive fresh supplies by the 19th of March, and retire to San Fernando. But no discouragement could drive Junípero from his purpose. During this period of anxious suspense he writes to his friend Palou: "If all provisions and hope also disappear, I shall remain with only Friar Juan to the end." March 19th arrived, and still no vessel appeared; all through the day a heavy fog hung over the bay, while preparations were made by Portolá to abandon the place on the following morning. Serra celebrated mass with more than usual solemnity, and preached with extraordinary fervor. In his heart he prayed earnestly to God for help, and implored the intercession of St Joseph, whose feast-day it was. As evening approached, the fog lifted for a brief interval, and lo!

far out at sea, in the rays of the setting sun, a ship was descried heading toward them. Hope revived, the order to embark was countermanded, and four days later the *San Antonio* sailed into the harbor. St Joseph had indeed heard their prayer, and another miracle was recorded in the annals of the enterprise. San Diego mission, and all the magnificent works which were to follow, were not to be ingloriously abandoned.

Provisions being now plentiful, it was determined to go in search of Monterey, and about the middle of April two expeditions, one by land and the other by water, left San Diego with that object. Portolá and Crespi went overland, while Serra proceeded by water, sailing on board the *San Antonio*. Delayed by contrary winds, the ship did not reach its destination before the 31st of May, after a tedious voyage of forty-six days, the land expedition having arrived there ten days earlier. On June 3d, Junípero founded the mission of San Carlos at Monterey with the customary ceremonies. In a letter to Palou, dated the 13th, he relates the particulars. "Near the same oak-tree," he writes, "where the fathers of Vizcaino's expedition celebrated mass, having erected an altar. I chanted the first mass that is known to have been celebrated here since that time." At the conclusion of his letter he remarks further: "To-morrow we are going to celebrate the feast and procession of corpus christi, although it may be but poorly done, in order to chase away as many little devils as there may be in this land." But alas! no sooner had the little devils taken their departure, than larger ones sprang up in their stead; and so, in the succeeding generations of the sons of Satan, their size has gone on increasing to this day.

For some time the Indians were shy, and held aloof, the work of conversion progressing slowly. On December 26th, Serra for the first time administered the holy sacrament of baptism at that mission; and

Palou states that three years later, when he visited Monterey, he found there 165 Christians, while the number of those who had received baptism at the time of Junípero's death amounted to 1014.

The news of the discovery of the harbor of Monterey, and the establishment there of the presidio and mission of San Carlos, was received with great rejoicing in the city of Mexico, and measures were at once adopted to increase the number of missions in California. On the 2d of January, 1771, ten missionaries sailed from San Blas for Monterey, but, encountering stormy weather, they did not reach San Diego till March 12th, and having remained in that port nearly a month, while the ship was discharging cargo, sailed thence for Monterey on April 10th. Still more unfortunate was a party of twenty religious who sailed from San Blas on the *San Carlos* early in February. The winds were so contrary that they were driven southward as far as Acapulco before they could turn about; then, being short of water, the captain endeavored to make the port of Manzanillo, and had the mishap to strand his vessel, which was so much damaged that he refused to put to sea again, and the missionaries were compelled to travel up the coast on foot a distance of 300 leagues. Their sufferings were so severe that one of their number died on the way; nor did they cross the gulf and reach Loreto before November 24th.

Meanwhile Serra employed himself in examining the surrounding country. He saw at once that the seashore was not the proper place whereon to establish a mission, which should be located on good agricultural land. About a league distant, on the fertile plains of Carmelo, he found a spot suitable in all respects, and thither, toward the close of 1771, he transferred the mission and presidio of San Carlos. While the soldiers and Indians from Lower California were preparing the ground and erecting the necessary buildings, Serra proceeded to found the mission of San Antonio. Taking with him two friars, Miguel

Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar, and a guard of soldiers, he journeyed some twenty-five leagues southeasterly, and having arrived at a beautiful dell, which they called Los Robles, on account of the oak trees growing there, he selected a suitable spot and established his mission. Frame huts were erected for the priests, soldiers, and servants, and a large building was raised and consecrated for a church; then Junípero, having remained there about fifteen days, returned to Monterey, leaving a corporal and six soldiers as a military guard for the two friars.

The founding of the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio of Santa Bárbara was a project that continually occupied Serra's mind; yet circumstances so frustrated his desires that they were the last to be founded by him; nor did he succeed in establishing them until after a delay of thirteen years. The cause of this was the want of military force, and frequent scarcity of provisions. But apart from these deficiencies, the pioneer missionaries had to contend against troubles promoted by their own people, and which evoked an unfriendly spirit in the minds of the natives. In their dealings with the Indian women, the Spanish soldiers were accused of giving offence, and frequently of downright insult. In September of this year Friar Pedro Cambon, and Angel Somera founded the mission of San Gabriel, and the conduct of one of the soldiers was so offensive to the wife of a native chief that he sought to avenge himself. In the fray which followed, the chief was slain, and the hostility of the Indians made it necessary to increase the strength of the military guard there, the soldiers destined for the mission of San Buenaventura being sent to San Gabriel.

The year 1772 was marked by a famine which "grievously tormented many." In August Junípero left Monterey for San Diego, and on the way founded the mission of San Luis Obispo, leaving Fray Cavalier in charge, with a corporal and four soldiers as

guard, and two Indians from Lower California. The ceremonies were performed September 1, 1772. Serra arrived at San Diego on September 16th, having visited the mission of San Gabriel on the way. His object in going to San Diego was to confer with the captain of the ship that brought provisions from Mexico, but which had failed to reach Monterey. The difficulties of transportation by land, and the danger of robbery by the natives, to which a convoy was always more or less exposed, made it necessary that the supplies should be sent by water; nevertheless, it required much pleading on the part of Junípero to induce the captain to sail for Monterey and take the much-needed supplies.

Having satisfactorily arranged this matter, the good father now turned his attention to his favorite scheme of establishing the mission of San Buenaventura. Finding himself with four missionaries at San Diego, while two others were expected shortly to arrive from Lower California, he urgently pressed Commandante Fagés to coöperate with him in the undertaking. That officer, however, raised so many objections to the project, that Serra began to suspect that he had received orders from Mexico prohibiting the further founding of missions. Consequently he deemed it necessary that one of the missionaries should go to the capital and correctly inform the viceroy as to the state of affairs. The other priests being consulted, it was agreed that Junípero, or some one selected by him, should proceed without delay to Mexico. Although in his sixtieth year, and suffering without intermission from his ulcered leg, the zealous man of God did not hesitate a moment. He knew that a painful land journey of 200 leagues lay before him, yet he must see the viceroy in person without delay. On October 20th he embarked on board the *San Carlos*, and arrived at San Blas after a prosperous voyage, taking with him an Indian neophyte of Monterey.

His journey to the capital was attended by his usual sufferings when on the road. At Guadalajara both he and his Indian companion lay ill of fever, which took such a malignant form that there seemed no hope of their recovery. The last rites of the church were administered to the apparently dying men, Father Serra expressing no fear of approaching death, but sorrowfully apprehensive that the death of the Indian might retard the work of conversion, his tribe fancying, perhaps, that the Christians had killed him. Fortunately his fears were groundless. In a few days they were able to continue their journey, and arrived at the capital January 6, 1773.

Serra's interviews with Viceroy Bucareli, who had succeeded the marquis de la Croix, led to a most satisfactory result. The reports that had reached the viceroy had been so erroneous and misleading that he had already decided to abandon the harbor of San Blas, on which port the missions of Upper California were dependent for supplies. On the representations of Junípero, Bucareli immediately sent orders to San Blas that a packet-boat should be despatched forthwith to Monterey with provisions, and the work on a new frigate which had been stopped should be resumed. But this was only a beginning in the turn of affairs. At the viceroy's suggestion, Serra drew up a report of the condition of the missions in Upper California, with a statement of their necessities, and this was so ably done, and contained so graphic a description of the situation, that the viceroy forwarded it to Spain, where it met with well-merited consideration at the court. A royal cédula arrived in due time, ordering that the port of San Blas should remain open, and a promise was made of assistance in supplying officers, pilots, surgeons, and chaplains from Spain.

In another communication addressed to Bucareli, Junípero begged for the extension of spiritual power; and so deeply was the viceroy moved by the earnest pleading of the missionary, that he constituted him-

self the advocate of the cause. He called a junta, or council, over which he presided, and addressed the counsellors so strongly in support of Serra's petition, that they voted unanimously in favor of it. A plan was drawn up for the guidance of commandants; the number of the troops was increased; provision was made for the erection of fortified presidios at San Diego, San Francisco, and in the channel of Santa Bárbara; and each mission was to be provided with six servants to aid in erecting buildings and in tilling the soil, their salaries being paid out of the royal treasury. Moreover, a bountiful supply of corn, flour, beans, and clothing, to the value of \$12,000, was granted, and 100 mules were sent for distribution among the missions. Furthermore, a maritime expedition was planned for the purpose of exploring the coast northward of Monterey.

Having succeeded to his heart's desire in his application to Bucareli, Father Junípero prepared for his return to California, and having received the blessing of his father guardian, bade farewell forever to the inmates of the convent. He set out in September 1773, accompanied by Fray Pablo Mugar-tegui, and arrived at Tepic without further adventure.

There, however, he was detained until January 24th, waiting for the freighting of the vessels. On that day he embarked on board the new frigate *Santiago*, bound for Monterey. On March 13th the vessel incidentally touched at San Diego, where Junípero heard of the great distress the missions were undergoing from scarcity of provisions. Supplies were at once landed, and the frigate was sent on her course to carry relief to Monterey, which was in the greatest straits.

Serra's intention had been to accompany the ship, but he now decided to continue his journey by land, in order that he might visit the missions and take to them the much-needed provisions. These duties performed, he arrived at his mission of San Carlos about

the middle of May, 1774, and occupied himself in superintending the unloading of the vessel, and preparing for the departure of the expedition northward.

During the years 1774-9, three such expeditions were despatched by the zealous viceroy, and though Serra took no personal part in them, it is to his honor that, on his visit to Mexico, he aroused in the heart of Bucareli the desire to promote discovery, and by his suggestions guided to a certain extent the actions of his excellency in that respect. Nor did the viceroy fail to acknowledge the encouragement which the priest gave to these expeditions. In a letter addressed to Serra, dated Mexico, January 20, 1776, he writes: "The new discoveries made by the ships of the king on those coasts are the object of your reverence's letter of October 12, 1775, and for them, and the honor resulting to me thereby, you send me your congratulations, which I receive with pleasure; at the same time your reverence is deserving of thanks for the manner in which you celebrated there these happy events with all possible solemnity; and I am satisfied that the zeal of your reverence and that of the other fathers will be the best guarantee of the extension of the gospel."

By letter of August 17, 1775, the viceroy approved Serra's project for the founding of another mission, between those of San Diego and San Gabriel, and Captain Rivera allotted six soldiers as escort and guard. The name to be given the new establishment was San Juan Capistrano, and friars Fermin, Francisco Lazuen, and Gregorio Amurrio were appointed by Serra for the work. A suitable site having been selected, Father Lazuen, on October 30th. duly performed the usual ceremonies, and eight days afterward Father Amurrio arrived with provisions and stores. The Indians were friendly, and readily assisted the new-comers in felling timber for the construction of buildings. All hearts were made glad, and the missionaries were still congratulating each other on the

prospect of soon having everything in order, when one evening the intelligence reached them of a terrible disaster at San Diego.

It has been deemed best to remove the mission of San Diego about six miles inland, in view of the agricultural advantages offered thereby. This transfer separated the mission from the presidio, and encouraged the disaffected natives in an attempt to destroy the Spaniards by a simultaneous attack on both places. For although many converts had been made, no less than sixty Indians having been baptized on October 3d, the greater part of the natives seem to have been hostile to the foreigners. A little after midnight on the 4th of November, a horde of savages surrounded the buildings and set fire to them. There were but eleven persons in all of Spanish blood, among whom were the two friars, Luis Jayme and Vicente Fuster, who at the first alarm rushed out, the former facing the enemy with his usual salutation: "Love God, my children."

Father Fuster escaped to the barracks hard by, with two boys, a son and a nephew of Ortega. All through the night the Indians continued the attack, the fire driving the besieged from one place of refuge to another. The blacksmith, Arroyo, was killed at the first assault, being pierced in the body by two arrows. Later the carpenter, Urselino, was mortally wounded; and Father Fuster was hurt by a piece of adobe, quantities of missiles and burning brands being hurled over the walls. In attempting to barricade themselves more securely, two of the four soldiers received severe wounds which placed them hors de combat. The safety of the survivors now depended upon Corporal Rocha, who used the fire-arms so skilfully, while others loaded for him, that he succeeded in preventing the enemy from getting to close quarters. At dawn the savages withdrew, fearing the arrival of soldiers from the presidio. It had been their plan to attack that post also; but the party sent against it

returned, because the mission had been fired before they had proceeded far enough to be sure of effecting a surprise.

Search was now made for Jayme. In a dry bed of a creek his mangled and naked body was found, bruised from head to foot with blows of clubs and stones, and pierced by eighteen arrows, while his face was disfigured beyond recognition. Serra received intelligence of the disaster on the 13th of December, whereupon he exclaimed: "Thank God; the soil is watered; the conversion of the Dieguinos will now be accomplished."

The result of this outbreak was the temporary abandonment of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, and the strengthening of the military force at San Diego. Serra at once wrote to the father guardian at Mexico, as well as to the viceroy, particulars of the occurrence, pleading at the same time on the side of mercy, and imploring his excellency to extend clemency to the misguided savages. Bucareli, in reply, writes on the 3d of April, 1776: "In view of the prudent and Christian reflections which your reverence makes, inclining to treat with conciliation the rebellious neophytes, rather than to punish them, I inform your reverence, in reply, that I have so arranged, having issued orders, on this same date, to the commandant Rivera so to act, considering it the best method that can be adopted for the pacification of their minds, and perhaps also for the conversion of the neighboring gentiles, when they perceive that they meet with leniency and kind treatment instead of punishment for the excesses they have committed. I also informed that chief that the principal object of the moment is the reëstablishment of the mission of San Diego and that of San Juan Capistrano."

Anxious as Serra was to go in person to the scene of the calamity, and rebuild the mission, he was unable to do so before the last day of June, when he embarked on board the packet-boat *El Principe*, Cap-

tain Diego Choquet, arriving at San Diego after a voyage of twelve days. The causes of the postponement of his wishes were various. In the first place, the commandant Rivera hurried away with the troops at Monterey to the disaffected district, and while at the mission of San Gabriel, Lieutenant-colonel Anza arrived there from Sonora, with forty soldiers and some families of settlers for the port of San Francisco. The two commanders, after due consultation, decided to join forces for the punishment of the Indians at San Diego. Investigations followed; raids were made to different rancherías; gentile chiefs were brought in, made to testify, and were flogged or imprisoned; but little was learned with regard to the origin of the outbreak. Then arose a difference of opinion between the two commanders, and Anza's military colony being threatened with scarcity of provisions at San Gabriel, he resolved to take his party without delay to Monterey, where he arrived March 10, 1776. Serra went over from San Carlos to congratulate him on the safe termination of his march, and to assist at the religious ceremonial of thanksgiving.

These different proceedings and projects in some way or other interfered with Serra's departure to San Diego. On April 15th Rivera returned to Monterey, and was visited by the father president, to whom he was the bearer of letters from the friars at San Diego. That commander had been excommunicated by the priest for having entered the building used as a church, sword in hand, with a squad of soldiers, and taken thence an Indian who had sought refuge there. The culprit, though an old neophyte, had been a ringleader in the revolt, and Rivera demanded his delivery on the plea that the right of church asylum did not extend to such a criminal. After consultation with the friars of his own mission, Serra refused to grant the captain's request for absolution, informing him that when he gave satisfaction by returning the Indian to the sanctuary, the San

Diego friars could grant absolution without the necessity of his interference. On the 19th Rivera started south again, refusing to let Serra go with him, on the plea of great haste.

On his arrival at San Diego, Serra began the work of reconstruction. He enlisted in the cause the captain of *El Principe*, who not only promised him the aid of his crew, but also to accompany the expedition and work as a laborer. He obtained from Rivera a detail of five soldiers and a corporal, and on August 22, 1776, the whole company, consisting of Father Junípero and two other missionaries, twenty sailors with their officers, the corporal and five soldiers, and a band of fifty Indian neophytes, proceeded to the destroyed mission, all except the natives carrying fire-arms and cutlasses.

For more than a fortnight they labored unceasingly, priests and officers acting as superintendents, and even working with their own hands by the side of sailors and peons. The church and other structures were progressing favorably, and hope was entertained of finishing and surrounding them with an adobe wall before the sailing of the ship, when Rivera appeared on the scene and put a stop to the work. It is difficult to fathom his motive,—jealousy of the priests, perhaps. An Indian had told him that the savages were preparing arrows for a new attack, and though a sergeant sent out to investigate could find no foundation in the report, the commandant pretended alarm; at all events he withdrew the soldiers on guard at the mission, and urged the withdrawal of the sailors. Choquet, though protesting, yielded, not caring to assume the responsibility, and the work was abandoned, to the indignation of the missionaries. Viceroy Bucareli, in a letter addressed to Father Junípero on this subject, says: "I do not doubt that the suspension of the reëstablishment of the ruined mission of San Diego caused your reverence much pain, while, as far as I am concerned, the knowledge of

the fact has caused me displeasure, and much more the frivolous motives which gave rise to it, as intimated to me in the letter of the naval lieutenant Don Diego Choquet." He also informs the venerable president that a reënforcement of twenty-five soldiers was already en route for San Diego, and that if Rivera did not devote himself to the reëstablishment of the missions, the governor, Don Felipe Neve, lately appointed to reside at Monterey, would do so. This letter was dated December 25, 1776, and reached Junípero's hands long after these troubles had ceased.

In fact, three weeks after the cessation of the work, the reinforcement alluded to in the letter arrived, despatches having been received a few days previously, ordering the troupes to be employed in the restoration of the missions. Serra's joy was complete, and he gave expression to it by the ringing of bells and the celebration of a high mass. Rivera was now obliged to modify his plans; he detailed a guard of twelve soldiers for the mission of San Diego, and another of ten men, with a corporal in command, for San Juan Capistrano, the other two being assigned to San Gabriel. Then, leaving a force of thirty men at the presidio of San Diego, he set forth for Monterey, taking with him twelve soldiers.

Work was now resumed at the mission, and the buildings were soon ready for occupation. Fathers Fuster, Lazuen, and probably Santa María, were inducted into their new quarters about the middle of October, and recommenced their missionary labors. The destroyed registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths were replaced by others, in which the entries were restored as far as possible from the memories of priests, neophytes, and soldiers, and Serra added some valuable notes to the history of the mission at various dates from August 14th to October 25th.

In the last days of that month, accompanied by the friars Mugarítequi and Amurrio, and escorted by the ten soldiers, he went northward to reëstablish the mis-

sion of San Juan Capistrano. The bells, which had been buried on the abandonment of the mission, were unearthed, properly hung and chimed, and the mission was again founded with the customary ceremonies. This occurred November 1, 1776.

But Serra's zeal exposed him to danger. A few days later he went to San Gabriel for neophytes to aid in the work of construction, and for provisions and cattle. On his return with these supplies, so anxious was he to reach San Juan with the news, that he proceeded in advance with only one soldier and a neophyte from San Gabriel. When beyond reach of help, he was met by a band of armed and painted savages, who approached with fierce shouts and hostile gestures. The good priest's life was only saved by the presence of mind displayed by the neophyte, who informed the Indians in their own language that a strong body of soldiers was close behind, which would take terrible vengeance if harm should come to the friar. Thereupon the angry demonstrations ceased.

Having arranged everything to his satisfaction at San Juan Capistrano, Father Junípero returned to San Carlos in January 1777, visiting San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, and San Antonio on his way thither. He was anxious to learn whether the mission of San Francisco had been founded, and received on his arrival at San Carlos the cheering intelligence that not only that mission but the mission of Santa Clara were already established. As Serra did not officiate in person on these occasions, it is only necessary to state that friars Palou and Cambon, assisted by the military authorities, founded the mission of San Francisco, at the laguna de Dolores, October 9, 1776, and that on January 12, 1777, fathers Tomás de la Peña and José Murguía celebrated the first mass in the new mission dedicated to Santa Clara.

On his return to San Carlos, Serra was anxious to visit the new missions as soon as possible, but the expected arrival of Governor Neve, who had been

instructed to make the presidio of Monterey his place of residence, caused him to postpone his journey. Neve arrived on February 3d, and business connected with the spiritual and temporal reduction of the country detained the father president at San Carlos till September, when he started northward, arriving at Santa Clara on the 28th. On the following day he sang mass and preached, and on October 1st proceeded on his way to San Francisco, performing the whole distance of fifteen leagues in a single day and a part of the night. There he remained till the 10th, recuperating his strength. Meantime he visited the presidio, and looked out upon the water which separates the end of the peninsula from the hills beyond. "Thanks be to God!" he exclaimed; "already our father San Francisco has arrived with the processional holy cross of missions at the extreme confines of the continent of California, since in order to advance farther, it is necessary to embark."

Eight missions had now been founded, but the distances between them Serra thought were too great for effective work, and he therefore resolved to establish intermediate ones, and so accomplish the conversion of the Indians along the whole coast of California. With this object in view, he had already asked and received permission to found three others, along the channel of Santa Bárbara. "Help me," he said, to Palou and those around him, "to pray to God for success, and afterward we will work in order to fill in the other gaps." Thus, overflowing with zeal, he returned to San Carlos, resting for two days at Santa Clara.

The right to administer the sacrament of confirmation belonged exclusively to the bishops, nor could the highest official of the religious orders perform that rite without special authorization from the pope. When Father Junípero first reached Lower California, in 1768, he found in the Jesuit archives a bull of Pope Benedict XIV, conceding the power of confirmation

to missionary officials of that society. Anxious that his neophytes should not be deprived of the benefit of that sacrament under the Franciscan management, he requested the guardian of San Fernando to obtain for him similar authority. The result was, that, under date of July 16, 1774, a papal decree was obtained granting the power of confirmation to one friar in each of the four colleges in America. But as church and crown in Spain were zealous defenders of their respective prerogatives, formalities required that the document should receive the king's sanction, the approval of the royal council of the Indies, and the approval and authentication of the audiencia and viceroy of New Spain. Then there were formalities to be observed by the spiritual authorities, and such long delay occurred that Serra's patent, issued by the commissary and prefect of the colleges at Querétaro, Juan Domingo de Arceivita, did not reach his hands until the end of June 1778.

No time was lost in exercising the newly acquired power, and at different dates, from June 29th to August 23d, Serra confirmed 181 persons at San Carlos. Then, notwithstanding his infirmities, he embarked for San Diego, where he confirmed the neophytes and children of the soldiers. Thence he journeyed northward, administering the rite, with all its solemnities, at each of the missions, on his way back to Monterey, and afterward extended his tour to Santa Clara and San Francisco, returning to San Carlos January 8, 1779. During the last half of 1778 and the following year no less than 2,432 persons received the rite of confirmation.

But now an unexpected obstacle intervened, which suspended for a time his right to confirm, and embittered his happiness. After exercising that right for more than a year without interruption, Governor Neve all at once chose, as representative of the crown in California, to call upon Serra to show him the authority under which he was acting. Father Palou

narrates that, during this period when the government of the Californias was being placed under the rule of a commandant in the person of the chevalier de Croix, the father president encountered innumerable difficulties interposed by Governor Neve, who seemed designedly to throw impediments in the way of missionary progress. Exactly at what time the differences arose between Serra and Neve cannot be determined; but probably the quarrel began soon after the former's return from his first tour of confirmation.

From the records bearing upon the affair, it is uncertain whether Serra refused to produce his papers, or whether, being produced, they were regarded as insufficient by Neve; at all events the latter ordered confirmations to cease, and refused to furnish the escort asked by Serra during his journeys from mission to mission, but he made no attempt to enforce his order, referring the whole matter to General Croix in Sonora. Serra paid no heed to Neve's orders, but went on confirming through the year, even administering the rite to twenty-four persons in 1780. He had, however, reported the matter in October 1779 to the commandant-general, and also to the guardian of San Fernando, taking the precaution to forward to the latter all the documents he had bearing upon the matter.

On April 20, 1780, Croix sent an order to Neve to take possession of the original patent and instructions that had been sent by the guardian to Serra, and under no pretext whatever to permit the father president to continue administering the rite of confirmation. Of course, Serra could not deliver up the papers, as he had already sent them to Mexico, but he yielded to Croix' orders to suspend confirmation. On July 20th he replied to a letter from the commandant-general, charging and entreating him to obey the order by giving up the papers, that he would cheerfully do so. The controversy, however, continued, nor was the difficulty settled, so far as Serra

was concerned, before May 1781, when Neve, in a letter dated the 19th of that month, at San Gabriel, informed the father president that, as the apostolic brief had been shown to have the requisite approval of the council, there was no longer any obstacle to his administering the sacrament.

This episode in the life of Junípero Serra exhibits the pertinacity of the man, when acting under the conscientious belief that principles of the gravest importance were involved. He maintained his right, in defiance of Neve, until he began to apprehend that his resistance might end in his being prohibited to baptize; then, with characteristic submissiveness, he yielded to the pressure put upon him, placing his faith in God. During the period that he abstained from exercising his right to confirm, he occupied himself exclusively in catechising the neophytes at San Carlos, at which mission he remained until September 1781; then, having administered confirmation there and at San Antonio, he proceeded with Father Crespí to San Francisco, where he arrived October 26th. Great was Father Palou's joy at meeting the revered father president and his friend and countryman, Fray Crespí. There they remained until November 9th, when they returned by way of Santa Clara to San Carlos. A few days afterward, Crespí was taken ill, and soon became aware that his days were numbered. Having received the last rites of the church at the hands of Father Junípero, he breathed his last, January 1, 1782. Such was the estimation in which Serra held him, and so great was his affection for him, that shortly before his own death he requested that he might be buried by the side of his beloved disciple and companion Fray Crespí.

The project for the establishment of missions along the Santa Bárbara channel had been retarded by a serious disaster on the Colorado, which was the destruction of two missions lately founded on that river, the massacre of all the males, priests, soldiers, and

settlers, and the carrying away of all their wives and children into captivity, by the Yumas. This occurred July 17, 1781, and the remainder of the year was occupied in making campaigns in the hostile region for the purpose of punishing the savages. Thus, though the force required for the projected establishments in the channel arrived in the summer of 1781, orders were issued to suspend all operations that might interfere with operations against the Yumas, and the soldiers remained at San Gabriel.

In February 1782, however, Governor Neve wrote to President Serra, announcing his intention to proceed in the matter, and asking for two friars, one for San Buenaventura, and the other for Santa Bárbara. There were but two supernumerary friars in California, one of whom he needed during his own occasional absence from San Carlos; the other, Father Cambon, then at San Diego, he instructed to meet him at San Gabriel. Six friars were expected to arrive by this year's transport, and Father Junípero, in his zeal, decided that he and Cambon could attend to the spiritual needs of the two new establishments until the arrival of the expected missionary recruits.

Junípero reached San Gabriel March 19, and on the 26th, all being ready, the expedition set out. It was a large and imposing company, and none equal to it had ever been employed on a similar undertaking in California. It consisted of seventy soldiers, with a full complement of officers; long pack-trains of provisions and commodities, with their drivers, numerous serving-men, and a band of Indian neophytes. Moreover, Governor Neve accompanied it in person, with his escort of ten soldiers, who were followed by their wives and families. On the 29th, the party arrived at the locality which had previously been selected as suitable for a mission, Neve having been obliged to return, owing to the arrival of a courier with despatches. A cross and an altar were raised on the site

chosen, and on March 31st the mission of San Buena-ventura was founded in the presence of a large attendance of Spaniards and natives, Father Serra saying mass and preaching to the assembly. Work proceeded apace, the Indians showing a friendly spirit, and cheerfully aiding in the erection of the buildings.

About the middle of April, Neve arrived from San Gabriel, and Cambon being left in charge of the new mission with a guard of fourteen soldiers and their sergeant, the remainder of the company started up the coast to establish the presidio of Santa Bárbara. The site chosen was on the shore of a small bay near a large native town called Yanonalit. The formal establishment took place on April 21st, when Serra said mass. - Affairs progressed favorably thenceforward, but the father president, finding that there was no immediate prospect of founding the mission, wrote to Fray Fuster at San Juan Capistrano, instructing him to go to Santa Bárbara on temporary service, and then returned to Monterey, visiting the missions of San Luis Obispo and San Antonio, in both of which he confirmed.

On reaching San Carlos, about the middle of June, he found that the transports *Favorita* and *Princesa* had arrived. The vessels brought full cargoes of supplies for the presidios and old missions, but, to the bitter disappointment of Serra, no friars. The fact is, an estrangement had been gradually growing for some time between the friars and the military authorities, which finally developed into a feud. Neve took no trouble to conceal his aversion to the friars, and his opposition to the missionary system in California. Bucareli, the zealous friend of the missionaries, was dead, and his successor, Viceroy Mayorga, was a Pharaoh, who knew not Joseph. He declined to furnish either church paraphernalia or agricultural and house implements, as requested by the guardian of San Fernando by letter of December 18, 1781. The Franciscan authorities saw clearly that an attempt

was being made in California to overthrow the old mission system. No implements for house or field signified no agricultural or mechanical industries, no communities of laboring neophytes, and no temporalities for the friars to control. Under these circumstances, the six friars selected for duty in California flatly refused to go there.

When Junípero Serra was made acquainted with these and other particulars, he saw clearly that the founding of new establishments must be postponed. In fact, early in 1773, instructions came from the college to the effect that neither Santa Bárbara nor any other mission must be established, except under the old system. San Buenaventura had, however, already been provided for, and ample supplies were in readiness; nor did Neve seem inclined to interfere by enforcing the new regulation. Accordingly, padres Dumetz and Santa María were appointed to the new mission by the father president, who wrote to the guardian, earnestly requesting him to send at least two missionaries to act as substitutes in case of the sickness or death of any of those on duty. There were at this time, the latter end of 1782, but eighteen padres for the nine missions.

Serra's call for help was not unanswered, and on June 2, 1783, two new friars, Juan García Rioboo and Diego Noboa, arrived at San Francisco, and after remaining a few days at that mission went by land to San Carlos. They found their venerable president greatly broken down in health. Since his return from Santa Bárbara, in the previous year, he had been unable to leave his mission, where, however, he still continued to instruct his flock and perform the church services. For some time past he had been suffering from an affection of the chest, which, with the continual discharge from the ulcers on his leg, sapped his strength. When padres Rioboo and Noboa reached San Carlos, he was undergoing one of his most severe attacks, but their presence revived

him. The death of his old companion, Crespí, had been a heavy blow, and the disappointment and sorrow which he experienced at the partial frustration of his plans had also been detrimental to his health. Now, however, he was reanimated with new courage, and as his license to confirm would expire in July 1785, this tireless man of God, though racked with pain and exhausted by disease, determined to make a final tour through the missions and confirm the neophytes.

Leaving Fray Diego Noboa in charge of his mission, in August 1873 he embarked on board the vessel bound for San Diego, where he arrived in September. The pains in his chest were now so intense, that it was feared he would never be able to complete the journey, while he himself believed that he would never return. Just before he sailed, he wrote a letter of instructions to Fray Palou, which concluded with these words: "All this I say, because my return may be only by letter, since I feel so much worse. Commend me to God."

At San Diego he administered the sacrament of confirmation, and then began his journey of 170 leagues to Monterey. During the earlier part of his tour he met with no alleviation to his sufferings, and what little strength he had left grew daily less. At San Gabriel he was so ill that death seemed near, and the young native neophytes who assisted him at mass said to the resident friars, with tears in their eyes: "Fathers, the aged father already wishes to die." But his fervor and zeal bore him through. From mission to mission he made his way, catechizing and confirming. At San Buenaventura, the last of the missions he had founded, he was greatly rejoiced to find a goodly number of Christianized natives, where the year before he had seen only gentiles. In January 1784, he again entered San Carlos, and strange to say, with his health and strength somewhat recruited. He remained there until after easter, attend-

ing to all his accustomed duties, and then set forth, at the end of April, for the purpose of administering confirmation at the missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco.

On May 4th he arrived at the latter mission, without being delayed at Santa Clara to confirm, since it was his intention to return and dedicate on the 16th the new church that had been erected under the direction of Father Murguía. Having completed his work at San Francisco, the father president returned to Santa Clara on the 15th, accompanied by Governor Fages, who had succeeded Neve, and that same evening blessed the new church according to the Roman ritual. Its architect and builder, Murguía, did not live to be present at the dedication, having died only a few days before, of a malignant fever. His death broke another link which bound Father Junípero to the world, and the venerable apostle felt that his work was all but done. Palou, who had been called to Santa Clara as soon as it was known that Murguía's life was in danger, was preparing to return to his mission when Junípero requested him to remain a little longer. He was greatly prostrated, and knew that his time was drawing near. The few days that these two friends passed together were employed by Serra in preparation for his approaching death. He performed the customary spiritual exercises, and made a general confession of his life to Palou, with great contrition and an abundance of tears. The rest of the time he occupied in baptizing and confirming.

In the beginning of June he returned to his own mission, sending thence the supernumerary friar, Diego Noboa, to take the place of Father Murguía. His increasing infirmity did not prevent him from continuing his labors, and he administered the sacrament of confirmation until July 16th, on which day his license expired; then, finding that 5,307 had been confirmed, he exclaimed, in the words of St Paul: "I have finished my course; I have kept the faith."

He now sank rapidly, and letters conveying his farewell were despatched to the Franciscans of all the missions, while from each of the nearer establishments a padre was summoned to take leave in person. Palou, the only friar who arrived before Junípero's death, reached San Carlos on August 18th, and on the following day celebrated the regular monthly mass in honor of St Joseph; in other religious services the sufferer insisted in taking his part. On the 23d, painful irritants were applied to Serra's chest, but without effect, and on the 26th he made a general confession. Next day he walked to the church, and received the viaticum in the presence of friars, officers, troops, and natives; on returning to his room he sent for the carpenter and ordered him to make his coffin. During the rest of the day the dying man remained seated in profound silence, and as night approached, growing visibly worse, he asked for extreme unction, which he received seated in his chair. After a sleepless night, which he passed for the greater part on his knees, resting his breast against the boards of the bed, toward morning he received absolution, and the plenary indulgence of his order. In the morning of the 28th he was visited by Captain Cañizares and officers of the vessel in port; he received them with earnest expressions of affection, and ordered the bells to be rung. Cañizares he had known since 1769, but had not seen him since 1779. After listening to them for a while he said: "I thank you for having come after so long a time, and from so great a distance, to throw a little earth upon me." Then he conversed with his old friend Palou, requesting to be buried near Crespi. At one time terror seemed to oppress his mind. "A great fear has come over me," he suddenly exclaimed; "I am greatly afraid: read for me the recommendation for the dying aloud, that I may hear it." Palou did so, in the presence of the officers, and all was soon calm again. Serra then

went out of doors with his visitors, and for the last time gazed upon the face of nature.

At one o'clock he took a cup of broth, and returning to his chamber disposed himself for rest. The officers went to drive. A little later, Palou, anxious about the revered president, approached his bedside. Serra's position was unchanged from that in which he had left him, and he seemed as one asleep. But Junípero's spirit had fled.

The bells announced the mournful tidings. Clad in the friar's simple robe in which he died, and which was the only garment he ever wore save when traveling, the body was placed in the coffin, with six candles beside it, and the weeping neophytes came to cover the remains of their beloved master with flowers, and touch with their medals and rosaries the lifeless form. Every article of clothing, save the one that served as a shroud, was distributed in small fragments as precious relics among the people, and notwithstanding all vigilance, a part of the robe was taken also. On Sunday, the 29th, he was buried in the mission church by Palou, in the presence of all the inhabitants of Monterey, and with due ceremonial display, including military honors, and the firing of guns from the fort, and from Cañizares' vessel at anchor in the bay.

Little remains to be said. To know the life work of the man is to know the man. Deep as was his nature, so pure and open were all his thoughts and acts, so plain and simple the record thereof, that all about him is an open book. He believed as he had been taught, acted on that belief, and died as firm in the faith as he had lived. To him missionary work was the greatest of all work, the conversion of the heathen, the saving of souls. Not all would entertain the same view as to what success might be in such a labor. The natives quickly disappeared; it has ever been so; contact with civilization kills them,

and that very surely, whether the weaker race be met in kindness or in cruelty.

The spiritual conquest of California brought immediate material results. A line of imposing edifices sprang up along the seaboard, which were soon centres of important industries; later many of them became sites of towns and cities. Junípero Serra's object, however, was not material results. He cared little for flocks and fields, for towns and traffic, except in so far as they contributed to spiritual success. And this to his mind must have been abundant, though all his beloved converts were so soon to be swept from the earth; great the glory and great the reward in the saving of a single soul, and Junípero doubted not that he had saved thousands.

Every incident in Serra's life, whether connected with his painful journeyings, his labors among savages, or his bearing toward his brother friars, points not only to his perfect sincerity, but to some one or more of his many virtues—his heroic fortitude, his self-abnegation, humility, benevolence. To all he was kind-hearted and charitable. Often he denied himself comforts, that he might give to others. Four days before his death, in the presence of Palou, he gave an aged Indian woman a blanket, and it was not discovered until afterward that he had divided his own covering with her. At the same time he was stern enough in his enforcement of religious duties, and he never hesitated to put in practice what he considered no less his right than his duty, even to the flogging of his neophytes for negligence in this respect. His executive ability was fair for a priest. He had the faculty of applying spiritual enthusiasm to temporal affairs. He managed the business interests of the missions with wisdom; and though engaged in saving souls, he did not neglect the worldly welfare of his neophytes. It was no light undertaking, the management of so many men, and so much property, with the inadequate means at his disposal, distance from base of supplies,

and length of time in communicating with his superiors. Such was the exaltation of his nature, however, that in the subjugation of a wilderness, a handful of men under his guidance was equal to an army under the direction of another. Above all, he possessed in an eminent degree those two prime requisites for the accomplishment of great purposes, knowledge of detail and breadth of view. When Junípero Serra breathed his last at the mission of San Carlos, a great and good man passed away.

CHAPTER V.

DOMINATING INFLUENCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALIFORNIA.

A ROMANTIC STORY—THE RESERVED GARDEN SPOT OF CIVILIZATION—THE NATIVE RACES—CALIFORNIA PASTORAL—THE MISSIONARY RÉGIME—DISCOVERY OF GOLD—CALIFORNIA INTER POCULA—GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY—LIFE OF WILLIAM T. COLEMAN—EXPERIENCES EAST AND WEST—IN THE MINES—AS A MERCHANT—AS A REVOLUTIONIST AND SAVIOR OF SOCIETY—AS CHIEF OF POPULAR TRIBUNALS.

THE story of California reads like a romance: first a primeval garden equal to any Eden, without the faintest echo from the past,—dusky Adams and Eves, naked, stolid, a little below rather than above their companions the grizzly bear and elk in prowess, or the lion and panther in dexterity, or the coyote in cunning, with many flowers and a few thorns, with many birds and a few reptiles, and an air and sunshine breathing of heaven, as if just outlying the gates of glory; next appearing a race a trifle less dusky, possibly a trifle less stolid, with a foreign religion to sell for lands and personal service, and with enough of the diseases and infernal appliances of European civilization soon to exterminate the aborigines; finally came the Anglo-American.

The last was of indomitable energy and adaptability, full of projects, depth of resources, and happy devices for carrying them out over through any obstacles. Tested in close contest with the representatives of all nationalities, he proved to be the man most fitted to bring into a progressive state a virgin field, which under Mexican sway might have remained an outpost

ever smouldering with revolution, or under English rule might have sunk into a stagnant conservative colony. He applied the democratic principles of the republic in brilliant and effective demonstration, by evolving the most progressive of commonwealths.

Latest born of progress, and fairest of all! The land seemed predestined for something better and beyond the ordinary stamping-ground of civilization, being long held in reserve as an experimental garden spot for the latest and highest culture. While the north developed sturdy hunters and fishermen and in the south sprang up a superior indigenous civilization; while flourished here mammoth trees and mighty beasts, and all things over head and under foot and on every side were indicative of the most favorable conditions, the intellect of aboriginal man was at the lowest, his thoughts clouded in darkness, his efforts nerveless. Why it was so, in the absence of any record, or any architectural or other remains, none can ever tell; it may have been by reason of wars, or physical or social convulsions: all that we know is that the land was kept.

And the Hispano-Americans likewise kept it, careful not to disturb its primeval beauties, not to cut down its mighty forests, nor exhaust the prolific soil by cultivation.

But slowly the serpent, civilization, was working its way into this Eden. Trumping up a quarrel with Mexico, and forcing upon that abased land an unjust war, the political sharpers at Washington never let go their grip upon the neck of 'our sister republic,' until a broad expanse of her fairest territory was secured, fifteen millions being paid under pretence of bargain and sale. This, and accursed gold, broke the spell; political greed, and greed of gold, broke down the walls of ages, and let the rabble in. Farewell, then, one and all, flowering fields and matchless wilderness, wild men and beasts; farewell, too, ye languid ones of the Latin race; all the world is upon you, Californial

Even after entertaining all the world, and opening to Asia and Europe, to Jew and Dutchman, her sierra treasure-box, and paying back to civilization for the scurvy trick it had played her—she and the neighboring states—five thousand millions of precious metals, the country still remained unknown, unappreciated. It was a place not fit to live in, everybody said, but only to gather wealth in, and hurry away from; while upon the floor of the United States senate, her astute representative exclaimed, “I would not give six bits an acre for the best agricultural land in California.” And so God kept the land for better than mining purposes, and for men more appreciative than astute senators,—but not yet, not until the north and the south had finished their great gladiatorial combat over the beast, slavery, and national disintegration; not until the people had recuperated from the heavy blow to life and property brought on by this bloody war, and peace and prosperity again overspread the land, wealth and intelligence multiplying more rapidly than ever,—not until within the last two decades has California begun to be esteemed at her true value.

And when this last and most remarkable of human migrations set in, a migration such as the world never before witnessed nor will ever witness again, a migration not of Spanish priests, and adventurers for gold and glory, nor of Scotchmen for furs, nor of avaricious Englishmen for free Indian lands, but a moving westward of men and women of wealth and refinement, coming from the seats of the world’s highest civilization, and bringing with them the world’s highest intelligence, the world’s foremost ideas in science and morals: coming hither with peace in their hearts and means in their pockets for those greatest boons of heaven, health and happy surroundings,—when such a class, and for such a purpose, began to come, the most enthusiastic of Californians could scarcely realize it, could scarcely believe it true, that all the world with one accord should now be eager to champion

California, to proclaim hers as the brightest skies, the purest air, and the most adaptable soil in all the world.

Yet, while California has changed from a treasure-house to an Aladdin palace, and the transformation has proved the greatest of blessings, the benefits of her former deeds must not be ignored. Gold has many ills to answer for, in loosened moral restraint, manifest in a spirit of gambling and roaming, with attendant thriftlessness, vice, and crime. Nevertheless, the good results preponderate in substantial heirlooms. Observe the impetus to trade and industries throughout the world, the outlet for migration, the incentive and means for exploring and developing resources in adjoining lands, along the Pacific slope, in British Columbia, Australia, and other regions, with the attendant settlements and prosperity; the lines of steamships furrowing the greatest of oceans in all directions, and the girdles of railways spanning the continent. Gold cleared a wilderness, and transplanted thither the politics and institutions of the most advanced civilization.

Spain sought to retain for herself all colonial trade by forbidding intercourse with foreigners; yet she offered no commensurate facilities, and thus injured the colonies for her own selfish purposes. Tired of the check on their prosperity, the pastoral Californians sought an outlet for their surplus produce by illicit traffic. The republic admitted foreigners, but imposed so heavy a tariff as to encourage smuggling. Nevertheless stock-raising flourished as the basis for a regular trade.

This was insignificant, however, when compared with the volume of transactions, beginning with the flush times, when everything, from the simplest food staples, had to be imported for the impouring masses. The once quiet bay became suddenly studded with hulks and masts; steamboats wound their way up rivers and inlets with supplies for the multiplying

camps, supplemented in their task by mule-trains and wagons. Clipper-ships were launched to surpass all craft for speed and beauty; steam was regularly utilized for freight traffic on the high seas, and the world was taught a lesson in despatch and enterprise. The Orient and Australias were bound to Europe by another tie, and a great railway undertaking was carried out to complete the link.

In time imports changed in character, and fleets found employment in carrying wheat from California; and now fresh lines of railway are competing to open new markets in the east for her fast increasing fruit and wine. Interior trade is sustained by general wealth and open-handedness; and while exposed to many risks from the indispensable credit system attending mining as well as farming, and dependent on seasons and yield, yet it has been endangered by comparatively few crises. The instability of the flush times, which compelled recourse to the characteristic auction houses for the disposal of cargoes, and which held back insurance companies, and ruined thousands, is gone. Affairs have assumed a steady, normal tone, and the once imperilled reputation of San Francisco stands assured, like her position as the metropolis of the coast, the centre of Pacific commerce, whence radiate lines of local and continental railways, constituting the connecting point for intercourse at once between the east and west, the north and south.

The chief incentive to Spanish conquest in Mexico was gold, which as early as the first half of the sixteenth century lured expeditions to the confines of Utah and California, there to rest and stay the onward march of fortune hunters. Beyond loomed still another attraction in the interoceanic strait, that Columbian legacy which for three centuries danced an ignis fatuus before the eyes of navigators and geographers, holding forth vistas toward the north-west of a short route to the spice and silk regions of the

Orient. To this great objective point of European trade since the dawn of history, and to the cognate Levant, stands linked the name as well as the occupations of California.

The failure of Cortés and his rival, the viceroy, to find treasures wherewith to gild the reports of their explorations, retarded Spanish discoveries in this direction for nearly two centuries, and the coast, skirted only occasionally by the Manila galleons, was left shrouded in mystery.

Meanwhile miners pressed onward from Zacatecas into Durango and Chihuahua, and trade following upon their heels, sought harbors along the shore of Sonora, while friars passed beyond to impose the cross upon the natives, and facilitate political subjugation, stretching further the barrier against tribes too fierce to accept such subjugation. Now revived the rumors of the pearl beds on the *contra costa*, and traders and divers made profitable trips across the gulf, guiding thither finally the band of devout Jesuits, who by 1768 completed a chain of missions northward, parallel to the Sonoran establishments.

Thus slowly extended Spanish occupation along the Pacific, under the leadership of miners, peddlers, and priests, the government complacently recognizing their conquests by appointing a feeble frontier guard to watch over the revenues. Then came a shock of surprise. After a century-march through Siberia, the Muscovites had crossed to Alaska, evidently bent upon advance. Spain trembled not alone for her vaguely claimed possessions in the north-west, but for the strait which romancing geographers and navigators persisted in planting there, lined perhaps by golden hills and the still vibrating cities of Cíbola. With spasmodic energy the crown decided to renew the long suspended discovery expeditions, and to assert its territorial claims by founding a settlement near latitude 37°, the nucleus for cheap missionary subjugation. Further dignity was imparted by pro-

claiming it a port of call on the circuitous Manila route, and it became also an advance post against the hostile Apaches toward the east.

Spanish instructions were always heavily garnished with red tape and economic injunctions, but in this instance their execution fell to the charge of the able and energetic José de Galvez, the all-powerful *visitador-general*. The Jesuits had been ousted from the peninsula, as from every other Spanish territory, with a haste judiciously calculated to prevent their carrying away many valuables. The missions here being found well provided, the fitting out of a sea and land expedition to the north was imposed chiefly upon them.

San Diego mission was founded in 1769 as a way station; in the following year rose the presidio at Monterey, and by 1776 the military line was extended to San Francisco. Between the two sprang up a number of missions under the care of San Fernandino Franciscans, who had succeeded the Jesuits on the peninsula. Notwithstanding the preliminary obstacles attending the formation of new settlements, remote from centers of population, the friars were so delighted with the country that they hastened to surrender to the competing Dominicans the established missions in Lower California, in order to devote themselves wholly to the northern field.

It was a region of manifold attractions: A sea-board strip eight hundred miles in length by one or two hundred in width, marked off in the temperate and semi-tropic zones at the western earth's end, warmed and cooled by ocean currents and sea breezes, and sheltered in the background by the lofty Sierra, upheaved in crumpled folds from primeval ocean. Intermediate, toward the shore line, the Coast range rolls up in stony waves, enclosing the great valley of California, and westward several minor vales. It is a land younger than the eastern slope of the continent, fashioned not by the same slow and normal

process of ordinary strata formation, but in many a fit of passion, with upheavals and burstings asunder, with surging flood, and scorching blasts. As if to illustrate this method in producing nature's masterpiece, a broken line of desert country, in places weirdly fantastic, stretches eastward from the summit of the Sierra, redeemed to some extent by silver deposits. The adjoining belt on the western slope of the Sierra embraces the gold region. The third belt, reaching to the summit of the Coast range, and the fourth, to the ocean, are agricultural, provided in the north with abundance of timber, and with foot-hills revelling in perennial spring; in the centre and south a semi-tropic vegetation abounds.

The soil yet quivers with electric force, and climatic moods are subservient to fitful local causes: here a gentle summer's holiday, there a winter of magnificent disorder; between, exhilarating spring, with buds and freshness, and beyond, a torrid fringe, parched and enervating. While configuration permits surprises, it tempers them, and, as a rule, the extremes are confined to narrow sections. The sea-breezes are fairly constant, leaving a night rarely oppressive, and the mean temperature ranges from 51° in the north to 62° in the south; during winter it varies from 43° and 45° at Humboldt and Sacramento, to 51° and 52° at San Francisco and San Diego, rising in the summer to 57° , 69° , 60° , and 71° at the places named respectively.

In the south the rains are scanty; but they increase with every degree northward, until they reach an average of twenty inches at San Francisco, or double the fall at San Diego; and they continue to increase as they advance into the forest region toward the Oregon border. The distribution is almost entirely restricted to the season between October and April, leaving the summer almost rainless, a condition to which agricultural operations are adjusted with great economic advantage. It is the period of nature's re-

pose. The grass fades away entirely. The winter rains revive vegetation, and arid wastes blossom into gardens.

It is a dry, exhilarating atmosphere, tempered by refreshing nights, and the heat being not so depressing as in moister climes. It is ever stimulating to activity and enjoyment. Land and sea vie with each other in vitalizing benefits. When one glows with undue warmth, the other tones it down; when one grows cold and sullen, the other beams in happy sunshine. Winds and currents, sun and configuration, the warm stream from ancient Cathay, and the dominating mountains, all aid in the equalization of differences.

It was a region fitted to cradle a high culture and a happy people, and yet, as I have said, we find it occupied by races among the lowest on the continent; naked and dwelling in brush huts, having no knowledge of agriculture, and hardly an idea of religion; roaming in quest of roots and berries, small game and fish, precariously dependent on the seasons; split into petty bands, and kept apart by a confusing multiplicity of tongues.

Here, indeed, was a field for missionary efforts, and the Franciscans engaged heartily in the task; but the Indians were found indolent in mind as well as body. It took long to win them over, and was accomplished by appealing to their appetite. Urged thus they accepted baptism, and conformed to the outward observance of rites, remaining otherwise indifferent to the doctrines of the church, save in the superstitious features. Thus discouraged the friars found additional reasons for yielding to the tempting pupilage system, or serfdom, so long sustained in parts of Mexico. It was profitable to till fertile plantations and raise large herds with the aid of submissive slaves, who demanded in return for their labor, besides religion, only simple food and scanty clothing. Indeed, when the number of laborers ran short at some missions, it became the fashion to

send forth expeditions to impress by force additional recruits, who were secured to some extent by the ties binding them to wife and children, similarly captive. While as a rule gentle, the natives could not be wholly relied upon, as shown by occasional outbreaks. The policy was to inspire fear by prompt punishment at the hands of the guard, the friars interfering to mitigate the severity, and so win love and influence.

The aim of the government was to promote what was called the civilization of the neophytes, and transform the missions into pueblos, thus filling the province gradually with useful citizens. To this end artisans were sent to teach them handicrafts, and the election was ordered among them of *alcaldes* and other officials for the acquisition of experience in local self-administration. Not relishing the diminution of their profitable and pleasing authority, the *padres* took care that industrial training should decline into abortive subdivision of tasks, and that native officials should become mere mouth-pieces of their will. Indians were kept in utter ignorance of practical knowledge, and encouraged in their indifference even for religious conceptions, so that the government found itself unable to put secularization to the test. The effect of this policy reacted on the whites, in stamping as degrading the agricultural labor so widely assigned to a race of serfs. The employment, and even the kidnapping of Indians for most work became accordingly the rule.

The military governor sought naturally to remedy some of these abuses. The friars objected, and disputes were constant. At first the ecclesiastics carried their point, and procured the dismissal of the meddling officer; but as the circumstances became understood, their privileges were restricted, especially after the seat of authority was transferred from Lower California to Monterey.

Alta California assumed ascendancy over the peninsula within eight years of occupation. This rec-

ognition of her superior importance was further affirmed by the simultaneous determination to utilize the resources and secure the possession of the country by founding colonies. Settlers were offered free passage, an annual allowance for five years, with a loan of seed, live-stock, and implements for establishing farms and homes; in return for which certain community labor and military service were exacted. Even such liberal concessions failed to attract more than a limited number of volunteers for two pueblos, and vagrants were impressed to fill the third. Their growth henceforth was chiefly due to the accession of retired soldiers, many of whom had married Indian women.

While the heavy duties so far ruling on goods were reduced, and the Manila galleon was ordered to call and afford additional trade facilities, enterprise and development found themselves checked by the jealous exclusion of foreigners, so that the only outlet for products was in the demands of the few and distant presidios, for which the adjacent missions competed. One of the governors sought to give an impulse to new industries, notably flax culture, and to a livelier intercourse with Mexico, but the indolence and pride of the people, the advent of foreign smugglers, and Spanish wars, combined to nip the budding enterprise.

Notwithstanding the narrow-minded policy which directed the fortunes of the province, within and from without, the missions at least prospered. They numbered eighteen, at the turn of the century three more being subsequently added, and contained more than ten thousand converts in charge of forty friars. They owned in 1800 fully 67,000 cattle and horses, and even more small stock, and harvested 75,000 bushels of grain, besides manufacturing blankets, leather, soap, and pottery for home consumption. The three pueblos embraced somewhat over 100 families, owning 16,500 cattle and horses, and 1,000 sheep.

and raising 9,000 bushels of grain. The military force at the four presidios, and as guard at the missions, reached 280 men.

Shortly after this a change came over the scene. The war of independence broke out in Mexico, and the attention of the crown was wholly diverted, so that neither supplies nor pay, nor other subvention, reached the province. The chief sufferers were the troops, now reduced to rags and scanty food, yet compelled to remain in charge of the crumbling fortresses, and the empty magazines. The missions and settlers had to share the burden. They were obliged to provide the usual staples, and accept in payment drafts on a treasury which never repaid them. Their loss of stipends and trade with Mexico was also considerable, and frequent false alarms kept them in suspense and exposed to levies for defence measures.

They found compensation, however, in illicit trade. This had been growing for several years despite injunctions and guards. Now, with supplies from Mexico cut off, there was no alternative, even for the governor, save to permit the indispensable recourse to foreigners, and so obtain a welcome amount of revenue. The result was a great impulse to agriculture, and yet more to stock-raising, for securing hides and tallow, as barter for dry-goods, hardware, and trinkets, chiefly from Boston vessels.

The Russians also availed themselves of the opportunity to exchange goods for grain and other provisions much needed in Alaska, and they presumed to establish north of San Francisco bay a station for their traders and poaching fur-hunters. The intrusion hastened the foundation of missions on the north side of the bay, and the exploration of the interior, in order to assure Spanish claims. The growing pretensions of England and the United States to the region north of the Spanish lines, caused the Muscovites to withdraw three decades later.

Thus poured in wealth in return for products hitherto

of little value, and missions and settlers prospered, notwithstanding the many exactions; but the easy acquisition of manufactured goods tended to the neglect of the few crude industries fostered with so much care by Borica and other governors.

The people gave one proof of their loyalty to Spain by bravely repelling an attack by the privateer Bouchard in 1818, and were duly rewarded by a reënforcement of 300 disreputable soldiers, who bringing no supplies, imposed themselves upon the bounty and patience of the province.

Spain, long neglectful, came forward in 1821 with some illusive political concessions, but too late. Iturbide's opportune coalition with the insurgents achieved the independence of Mexico. Her patience exhausted, California promptly recognized the change, and receive the delightful concession of an assembly, of local self-administration, and of a native governor, to the setting aside of the hitherto dominating Spanish element. Too small in population for a state, she was soon reduced to a territory, and transferred to the tender mercies of Mexican demagogues, who received office here for serving political factions at Mexico, thus privileged to keep watch over a frontier province contiguous to the hostile United States.

In the first exultation over the acquired independence many dazzling plans were evolved for trade, industrial development, and colonization, but nearly all melted away before the volatile disposition of the Mexicans. Foreign merchants were, however, encouraged to come and they infused some system and energy into commercial transactions. Smuggling continued, partly through the connivance of officials, who willingly accepted bribes to evade the law. The federal, like the late colonial, government, expected the province to pay the expenses of both the civil and military establishments out of the heavy export as well as import duties; but under official corruption even this heavy imposition failed to meet the expendi-

ture, and recourse was had as of old to the still augmenting wealth of the missions.

In accord with the new political principles it was assumed that the neophytes must be set free. Secularization was therefore ordained, despite the protests of the padres. The fact that the brotherhood consisted almost entirely of now obnoxious Spaniards, would have hastened the execution of the decree, together with their own expulsion, but for the fear of Indian outbreaks, which they alone were supposed able to check. The mere intimation of such a revolution in mission affairs drew around them a host of cormorants, who scented spoils, well aware that the simple-minded Indians could not manage or retain property when once divided among them. Two honest governors interposed a bar against the marauders, and inaugurated a prudent system of secularization.

The hungry local factions chafed with ire and impatience, and when it appeared that schemers from Mexico were preparing to displace them by a raid under official auspices, cloaked by colonization projects, they were fairly roused. They could not be expected to stand calmly by and let hated outsiders secure the rich prize. Hence they conspired and drove out the governor, as well as their rivals, and appointed tools of their own to the administration. The territory was elevated to the dignity of a state, and the virtually self-appointed council assumed the sonorous title of congress. The preoccupied authorities at Mexico had to assent for the time, although they persuaded the dominant party to join the state as a department of the new centralized republic.

All obstacles being now removed, they swooped down upon the doomed missions. Creatures of the victorious clique were placed in charge, with instructions to give prompt attention to official levies on the property. Encouraged by this precept the managers hesitated not to lay heavy hands on the movable

effects, distributing them freely among their friends under the guise of loans, or against nominal sales. Anticipating the attack, the friars had shortly before hastened to secure their share, by arranging with contractors for the slaughter of cattle and the sale of hides and tallow, for their own benefit. The scanty allowance made to the neophytes was quickly wrested from them by pandering to their vicious bent for drinking and gambling, and by imposing on their stupidity and inexperience. They sank into vagrant poverty, or relapsed into savagism. In due time they came in contact with the insolent and prejudiced miners, to be buffeted, hounded, and butchered; to be driven even from the miserable reservations, where unscrupulous agents had been permitted by a neglectful government to defraud them of the pittance bestowed in exchange for their territorial possessions. And so they faded away under vice and disease, massacres, and withering contact with an insidious civilization.

In the nefarious secularization of the mission establishments were dissipated resources of great extent and importance, which by 1820 amounted to 100,000 cattle and horses at one mission alone; besides the average annual crops of 114,000 bushels of grain, and fertile fields, with irrigation canals, blooming gardens, fine edifices, implements enough for themselves and their numerous satellites, and rich regalia. The population at the time, aside from Indians, fell below 4,000, and the spoliators were few, so that all secured rich returns. When the newly created bishop arrived, in the early forties, to look after the estates, hardly anything remained save the land and buildings, and these were shortly afterward spirited away in grants and pretended sales to gubernatorial partisans. Thus passed away institutions which, notwithstanding their deterioration from avowed lofty purposes, into training fields for serfs, largely for the service and delectation of pampered friars, had pioneered and sus-

tained industries and colonization in California, and imposed in behalf of white immigrants a salutary control over the aborigines.

Fresh changes were impending. The easy going disposition of the Californians, and their preoccupation with quarrels over the spoils, had permitted the growth of a foreign element, composed chiefly of adventurers from the United States, who had been slipping in across the border. They naturally sympathized with the well-understood designs of the Washington cabinet regarding the province. In 1842 these designs were demonstrated by a momentary landing at Monterey. Four years later, in view of the then pending war with Mexico, a United States officer fomented an uprising of American settlers in the Bear-flag revolution, of which he in due time assumed the direction, in order to coöperate with the naval forces of his government for the conquest of the country.

The movement had been fostered by discord between the northern and southern factions in California, consequent on the division of revenue and spoils, and by their open discontent with the Mexican government for its neglect, for the refuse character of the soldiers, many of the officers being sent to pray on the province, for the several attempts to convert it into a penal colony, and for other causes of complaint. They were, nevertheless, more afraid of the grasping and domineering disposition of a superior race like the Anglo-Americans, and this stirred their slumbering loyalty to united though futile resistance.

Their apprehensions were well-founded; for the now inflowing mass of Americans yielded only too readily to the temptations excited by the loose tenure of property in California. An injudicious method of adjusting land titles, ordained by the government which should have protected them, tended to undermine possession, and one estate after another passed into the hands of unscrupulous lawyers, squatters, and

speculators, until nearly all the old Mexican families had sunk into poverty. It was a spoliation by the side of which the mission raids were insignificant.

The conquering host brought, however, a number of redeeming qualities, in energy and enterprise, making themselves felt in the development of the hitherto neglected industries, as farming, dairying, lumbering, fishing, and the leading mechanical handicrafts, pioneered prior to 1848 by such standard-bearers of civilization as the newspaper and the steamboat, and emphasized by the founding of towns like Benicia, Stockton, Sutterville, and Montezuma. They started in good force, forming nearly half of the 14,000 white and mixed population, not counting the scattered neophytes, 3,000 and more, nor the host of wild Indians who, nursing a deep animosity against the domineering colonists, were frequently harassing the settlements and carrying off cattle and horses.

The population of the new race consisted mainly of restless backwoodsmen from the western frontier of the United States; self-reliant, and of ready resource in building homes, mingled with the even more enterprising and broadly utilitarian men from the eastern states; both of strong intellect, here quickening under new and favorable environment; high-strung, shrewd, and practical, and with overweening self-assertion. By the side of the Anglo-American, elevated by vitalizing freedom of thought and intercourse with nature, we find the burly Englishman, full of animal energy, marked by aggressive stubbornness, tinctured with brusqueness and conceit; the prudent, thoughtful Scotch; the quick-witted Celt; the methodic and reflective German; the pure-blooded Spaniard, wrapped in the reflection of ancestral preëminence; the imaginative though superficial Frenchman; and the esthetic and cheerful, yet insincere, Italian; these three of the Latin race all bound by affinity of blood and language, and holding an esteemed position among the Mexicans.

A preponderating influence in this gathering might have been secured at the time by the Mormons, though of course the catholics would have fought hard against it. California was one of their objective points, but the Yankees having secured the country, they stopped at Utah.

For centuries California had lain slumbering, lulled by the monotone of ocean. The first fitful dream of explorers in search of an ever-eluding strait, of cities stored with treasures, had subsided into pastoral scenes, with converts and settlers clustering round white-walled missions in the shadow of the cross. Then came the awakening, caused by a rude invasion of soldiers and land-greedy frontiersmen, the premonitory ripple of international interest, and world-absorbing excitement. It is the dawn of history, presently to be followed by a golden sunlight, flooding the whole western world, and casting visions of empire far down the vistas of time.

It was on the 24th of January, 1848, that Marshall discovered gold at Coloma. The fact once fully realized, a thrill passed through the world, and forthwith was started a migration of peculiar significance. Never was a shrine more revered than this of the Sierra foothills, with their Pactolian streams. Thither all men turned for means to gratify their longings, their love and hate, their lust and domination.

First the people of the seaboard turned their steps toward the mountains. Farms and villages were abandoned. Then Oregon, Sonora, and the Hawaiian islands sent their representatives, and by the end of 1848 the diggers numbered about ten thousand. Skimming the surface of the placers they obtained probably ten millions of dollars, and left their mark in a series of camps extending from the Tuolumne to the Trinity.

This glittering affirmation of former rumors, spread abroad in magnified proportions, stirred to their foundations the four quarters of the world, particularly

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